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## RECENT BACONIAN LITERATURE.

In the *Westminster Review* for May there is an article of 14 pages on the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy, by Mr. Randolph Lee. The writer talks a good deal about it, but seems to know nothing or next to nothing of the real arguments *pro* and *con*. His ignorance is so complete that we find it quite unnecessary to offer any reply. He knows nothing of Bacon's writings: we doubt whether he has read even his Essays, for this is the style in which he compares Bacon's style with Shakespeare's:—

> Compare sentences from the *Essays*, which perhaps furnish the purest specimens of his English, with sentences from the plays of Shakespeare, and you will be struck with the mellifluous and simple, easy flow of the latter, as contrasted with citations from the *Essays* of Bacon. Take one illustration alone from the well-known Essay "Of Discourse,"—"It is well to give the occasion, moderate, and pass on,"—with Shakespeare's
>
> "Give every man thine ear
> And few thy tongue."
>
> How forcibly simple the Saxon English of the one beside the, it may be, more scholastic English of the other!

On reading this we could scarcely believe that a respectable writer could betray such portentous ignorance of both Shakespeare and Bacon. The quotation from Shakespeare contains three mistakes. The so-called quotation from Bacon is not Bacon's at all—it is Mr. Randolph Lee's, and it is brazed impudency to present this blundering

jumble of words as a specimen of Bacon's style. We presume that the passage which had somehow haunted what we suppose may represent his memory is as follows,—

"The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion, and again to moderate, and pass to somewhat else, for then a man leads the dance."

The oracular judgment on the "Scholastic English" which poor Mr. Lee finds in this passage is exquisitely comic.

The critic has a dim apprehension that there are parallel passages between Shakespeare and Bacon, and that this is an argument worth refuting. Accordingly he quotes seven—evidently selecting the weakest and most inconclusive out of the thousand or more that were open for his selection in the two hundred pages of Mr. Donnelly's book which are devoted to the collection of parallels—and even about these he manages to make a false statement, viz., that they are "Culled mainly from the *Promus*." The fact is that only about a dozen out of all this multitude are taken from the *Promus*, and in every case the source is acknowledged. Whether the quotations are accurate we do not think it worth while to investigate—but judging from the specimen already given we think it not unlikely that there is some garbling—or such infirmities as may be explained by trusting to an imperfect memory and invincible prejudice.

As to Mr. Randolph Lee, to adopt the words of a distinguished controversialist, we may say—"Away with you Mr. Lee, and fly into space!"—We have something better to occupy our pages than the preposterous absurdities which you manage to construct by blending together inconceivable ignorance and most distorted perceptions. Why does the *Westminster* Editor allow a motley-wearing scribbler thus to attitudinize in his pages!

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Mr. H. A. Kennedy contributes to the October *Contemporary*, a paper entitled "Small Latin and less Greek." It is of course intended to meet the Baconian argument derived from the classical scholarship of Shakespeare. This being the case, it is scarcely prudent to speak of the Baconian case as "a recent and happily defunct controversy;" —a silly manifestation of the vulgar scorn so often shewn by the advocates of Shakespere's claims. Mr. Kennedy probably knows that this is entirely untrue: the Baconian controversy is growing every day, as his own paper indicates; if it were defunct the reason for Mr. Kennedy's paper would not exist.

Classic learning pervades Shakespeare — no careful reader, few

even careless readers can miss it. There can be no mistake about it, any more than about the University cadence that rings in the voice of an Oxford or Cambridge graduate. It is just as easy to recognize University tones in Shakespeare's verse as in the Rev. Robert Spalding's talk. It is an atmosphere which only refined and cultivated scholarship can create. The only possible reason for explaining away the clear indications of classic culture in Shakespeare is the necessity of vindicating the authorship for a man for whom such learning was impossible,—who for this, among a hundred other reasons, cannot have been the real author. If the case were a simple one—that is, if this great blockade of rusticity were out of the way,—no one would dispute the learning of Shakespeare. To talk about this large and comprehensive classic culture as "probably acquired in conversation," —as the result of "good listening," is really quite shocking nonsense, even when buttressed by the speculative addition of a circulating library of manuscript translations.

Mr. Kennedy is not quite so fair in his facts as he ought to be. To his fancies he is heartily welcome; he may, if it amuses him, imagine some "learned Theban" coaching Shakespeare in Virgil, he may watch the astral double of the poet in his study and observe that "he shows no sign of pleasure in the perusal of the Latin poets;" just as he may tell his dreams at breakfast-time. But we protest against the following,—

"The earliest Shakespearian play on a classical subject is the *Comedy of Errors*, the plot of which is founded on Plautus, and it is probably not merely a coincidence that there existed in print a translation of this one Comedy of the Roman poet's."

The *Comedy of Errors* was performed at Gray's Inn in 1594, probably under Bacon's auspices: the translation did not appear till 1595. Mr. Kennedy's statement, notwithstanding the ambiguous qualification which follows, is a *suggestio falsi*—unjustifiable and misleading.

Mr. Kennedy tells us that a satisfactory conclusion on a subject of this nature can only be obtained by a series of inventories. 1. The general bulk of classic legend and history. 2. The portion of that bulk with which Shakespeare was acquainted. 3. The amount of antique legend and history that was translated and published at the time. 4. That portion of it to which, as far as we can tell, he would only have had access by reading it in the tongues in which it was written. And this last can be belittled to any convenient extent by vague appeals to the scholarship of the age, and manuscript translations.

All this is very plausible: but it is really very sophistical. It is not necessary to undertake this elaborate statistical enquiry to know whether the culture characteristic of any given author is classical. The presence of classic allusions—the way in which they are introduced, whether so as to indicate cram, or spontaneous use of mental stock,—the general tone of culture which no one need mistake,—the structure of the writer's sentences, the mode in which he uses classic words and classic constructions—all these can be easily investigated without the ponderous and really darkening enquiry which Mr. Kennedy suggests.

Mr. Kennedy's most original argument is a negative one. He considers himself entitled to say that if the poet had known the story of Orestes he would have used it in writing *Hamlet*. We take the liberty of believing that Shakespeare was not the pedant that Mr. Kennedy supposes him to have been, and that he could use his scholarship, if he chose to use it all, without making an ostentatious parade of it. The egotistic pedagogue which is apparently Mr. Kennedy's ideal of the poet of *Hamlet*, might have appreciated the classic embellishments suggested, and used them to put an academic colouring on his masterpiece. Being simply "Shakespeare," with the greatest capacity for self-suppression of any artist in the world's literature, he had enough modesty and good taste to dispense with Mycenæ, and Agamemnon, and Clytemnestra, and all the rest of it.

The fact that the poet made use of translations is no proof that he was unacquainted with the classics, or unable to use untranslated works. It is antecedently probable that the influence of translations will be most seen in such plays as are classic in their subjects and structure—such as *Troilus*, and the Roman historical plays. Why should he *not* use these short cuts to a plot or a history even though he was capable of drawing from original sources? It was simply a matter of convenience and detail, and all the laborious comparisons with North's Plutarch, and Lydgate's Dares and Dictys, have very little bearing on the real question. All these obligations to translators may be conceded very comfortably, and yet the traces of competent scholarship remain unaffected. For the real test is the spontaneous use of classic knowledge in non-classical plays, and in places where no coaching or priming can be supposed to have supplied the learning. There is enough classic allusion in the *Merchant of Venice* to settle the whole question, and to prove that the poet was saturated with classic lore. Richard Grant White—who freely combated the Baconian

theory,—says that the poet in *Troilus* uses Plato's First Alcibiades in such a way as to be "inexplicable except on the supposition that Shakespeare was acquainted with what Plato wrote." Mr. Kennedy says that "no passage in his works gives a hint that he knew even the names of the great Athenian tragedians." Theobald has a note on a passage in *Tit. And.* I. i. 136—138, referring to the revenge of the Queen of Troy upon the Thracian tyrant in her tent—"*i.e.* in the tent where she and the other Trojan women were kept, for thither Hecuba, by a wile, had decoyed Polymnestor in order to perpetrate her revenge, This we may learn from the Hecuba of Euripedes, the only author that I can at present remember from whom our writer would have gleaned this circumstance!" And another passage in the same play, I. i. 379, is derived from the Ajax of Sophocles. One specimen is enough to refute such an extravagant assertion as Mr. Kennedy makes: but it is well known that other critics find traces of so many classic writers, both Greek and Latin, as to cover nearly the whole of the classic region. It is demonstrable that the poet was familiar with Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Ovid, and other Latin poets; and indications are not wanting of a scholarly use of Anacreon, Cicero, Claudian, Ennius, Juvenal, Lucretius, Perseus, Philemon, Seneca, Statius. Tibullus, Velleius, Paterculus. If he shews a preference for Latin rather than Greek authors, so did Bacon. But he evidently was at home in both literatures.

His vocabulary is so extraordinarily classic that it is fair to suppose that he had been accustomed to write in Latin, as he evidently thought in Latin. It would be easy to refer to some hundreds of passages in which words are used in a classic sense, only fully intelligible to those who are fairly skilled in the ancient languages. His learning may not have been of that critical, scientific kind that would qualify him for a modern professorship of Greek or Latin. But no unprejudiced reader of Shakespeare can fail to see that the poet had the franchise of the world's literature, as he had "made all knowledge his province."

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*Mr. Donnelly's Reviewers*, by William D. O'Connor, is a little book much resembling in its extent and general appearance, "*Hamlet's Note Book*," which was reviewed in an early number of this Journal (Vol. I., p. 68). It is written by one of our own members; but alas! before the book could be published, the brilliant and genial writer died. Mr. O'Connor was one of the most striking and interesting personalities that has been associated with our cause. A slight notice

of him and a portrait is given in Mr. Donnelly's *Cryptogram*. He was born early in 1832, and died May 9, 1889. We would gladly reproduce in our pages the short sketch of his career which is prefixed to the volume before us, but space forbids. It must suffice to say that he had considerable literary experience, as editor, poet, writer of magazine articles and stories, and of an anti-slavery novel. He was a brave defender of the Baconian theory—a staunch vindicator of the noble and much maligned Delia Bacon. His pen seemed to take naturally to literary warfare—especially in conflict with that wanton and injurious criticism which seems to spring up with the noisome exuberance of poisonous *fungi* whenever the Baconian case finds its way into periodical literature. This inspired his noble defence of Mrs. Pott's *Promus*, in his *Hamlet's Note Book*; and this was the impelling motive that led him to write this last, posthumous book. It is characteristic of Mr. O'Connor's polemic, that it is not simply negative—he is not content with a vigorous rejoinder to an unsound or unfair criticism; he invariably throws new and brilliant light on the case which he defends. His style is infinitely picturesque and lively—sometimes so audacious in the use of homespun vernacular as to become somewhat *risqué*; but his intense earnestness, the clearness of his insight, the strength of his logic, completely reconciles his readers to the bold license of unvarnished expression in which he permits himself to indulge.

In this, which is, alas! the last piece of polemic we shall have from his pen, his primary aim is to defend Mr. Donnelly's wonderful and masterly volumes from the false and malicious censures which were so plentifully circulated in the periodical press when it was published. Probably Mr. O'Connor's refutations will give more endurance to most of these scribblings than they deserve. Whatever may be the ultimate judgment of posterity on Mr. Donnelly's entire work, there can be no doubt that most of his critics rushed to their adverse conclusions with most indecent celerity; and in their blind fury, not only assailed those parts of his work which are vulnerable and open to free criticism, but they ruthlessly and savagely trampled on what must always be recognised as the ablest and most irrefutable exposition of the Baconian theory that has been hitherto produced. And Mr. O'Connor's rebutting arguments accordingly involve a restatement of much of the Baconian reasoning, which will retain its value after the ridiculous and disingenuous cavillings of Mr. Appleton Morgan and the inglorious crew of hostile reviewers, whose rancour is on a level with their ignorance,

are forgotten or despised. Mr. O'Connor shews amusing nimbleness, and marvellous dexterity in hitting on the essential fallacy of any argument he takes in hand, and exposes it with absolutely conclusive reasoning, as solid as it is sparkling and witty. As a specimen of his more serious vein, we may quote the following eloquent passage on Bacon's supposed want of heart or sympathy:—

To re-enforce heavy artillery with small musketry seems a useless expenditure of ammunition, but this the reviewer does, by here bringing in Richard Grant White to corroborate Dr. Ingleby as to Bacon's want of "human sympathies;"—a man who, as I have said, was a secret Baconian, and secret only because a frank avowal of his disbelief in Shakespeare would have made his editions waste paper. O these Shakespeareans! This is the way they can estimate the man who declared his own nature when he wrote in his essay on *Friendship*, "For a crowd is not company, and men's faces are but like pictures in a gallery, and talk only a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love." Here is their latest fetch—to pronounce "deficient in human sympathies" that all-compassionate Bacon whose paramount interest was in humanity; whose deepest intuitions and divinations, as his *Essays* show, are when he comes into relation with his fellows; whose whole life was avowedly and admittedly devoted, in his own sublime words, to "the relief of the human estate;" he, the knight-errant, solitary and colossal, of the human adventure; he, the very Cid Campeador of the vast scientific battle, still raging, for the victory of the human kind! The world has long agreed with Vauvenargues that "great thoughts come from the heart," and to think that there should be men so dull as to set up that the great thoughts of Bacon—none greater—had no heart to come from! The theme is too much to handle here, but the student of his life can not but at once remember some of its salient points, and marvel that he should be taxed with the lack of all that makes a man most a man. To think of his fond and deep *rapport* with his great brother, Anthony:—"my comfort," he sweetly calls him: and later in life, denotes him with rapt feeling as "my dear brother, who is now with God." To think of his unfailing, his tender and anxious efforts to protect, to succour and save his poor young Catholic friend, the son of the Bishop of Durham, Sir Tobie Mathew; how, when all faces lowered around the young man in his prison, when even his father and mother forsook him as "a pervert," he would not cast him out; how from the jail in which his conscience cast him, he took him to his own house and cherished him; how when in gathering danger, though innocent, from suspicion of complicity with the frightful plot of Catesby and Guy Fawkes, he aided his escape abroad; how he maintained a faithful and consoling friendship with the poor outlaw through

all the years of that sorrowful foreign sojourn; and how, at length, through loyal and untiring endeavour, he procured for him permission to return to his own England, and eat no more that bread of exile Dante found so bitter. And at last, when all was ending, to think how that high heart turned from the many-passioned pageant of service and struggle and glory and noble anguish, which had been his life on earth, from all the airy vision of his immeasurable coming fame and the hopes of heaven, to humbly and with touching pathos leave on record his wish to be buried in the old church at St. Albans, for "there," he says, "was my mother buried," and there he lies close by his mother's grave. O poor, great man, so wanting in "human sympathies!" p. 86-88.

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As a fitting sequel to this enthusiastic vindication of Bacon, we may here reproduce the following extract from Sir Henry Taylor's Autobiography: which gives us an interesting glimpse into Spedding's character, as well as a noble protest in favour of Bacon. Sir Henry Taylor writes,—

"In Spedding, who seemed to us, at the Colonial Office, the most mild and imperturbable of men, the detractors of Lord Bacon had awakened a passion of indignation, the capability for which even those who knew him more than superficially, could scarcely have believed to be lying hidden in his heart.

"In the course of a search amongst old papers, I have come upon a sonnet and a letter, in which the passion finds a language to express itself, both in prose and verse. The letter speaks of the sonnet:— 'It sprang out of a very strong emotion that used to visit me from time to time, and from the occasional agitation of which I am not yet secure. And the emotion is roused as often as I consider what kind of creatures they are who so complaccntly take it for granted that they are nobler beings than Bacon; being, as I believe, the beggarliest souls that have been gifted with the faculty of expressing themselves; insomuch that if the administration of the divine judgments were deputed to me for half an hour, I think I would employ it in making the scales fall from their eyes, and letting them see and understand Bacon as he was, and themselves as they are. The contemplation of the two for half an hour would at least leave them speechless. My only doubt is whether any power whatever could enable them to understand either his greatness or their own littleness without making them over again, which would be more trouble than they are worth.

"Well, then, if this ought to be done, why is it not done! Why are these people permitted to go on strutting and moralising and making the angels weep, when a sudden gift of insight into themselves would make them go and hide out of the way?

"I can think of no likelier reason than that Bacon himself would be sorry that any of those who were once his fellow creatures should suffer such a punishment on his account. And it was to relieve myself from the pressure of this thought (which as you may see is apt to put me out of my proprieties) by shutting it up in a sonnet, that I began" . . . . And then he (Spedding) proceeds to say how he conceives that he had ended in a failure. But the truth is that from beginning to end the sonnet is one of Miltonic force and fervour, and here it is:—

SONNET.

"When I have heard sleek worldlings quote thy name,
And sigh o'er great parts gone in evil ways,
And thank the God they serve on Sabbath days,
That they are not as thou, great Verulam,
Then have I marvelled that the searching flame
Lingered in God's uplifted hand, which lays
The filmed bosom bare to its own gaze,
And makes men die with horror of their shame.
But when I thought how humbly thou didst walk
On earth—how kiss that merciless rod—I said,
Surely 'twas thy prevailing voice that prayed
For patience with those men and their rash talk,
Because they knew thy deeds but not thy heart,
And who knows partly can but judge in part."

Sir Henry Taylor adds,—

". . . . Lord Bacon will become known to posterity gradually perhaps, but surely, as the man that he truly was,—illustrious beyond all others except Shakespeare in his intellect, and, with whatever infirmities, still not less than noble in his moral mind."

## MORE PARALLELS.

1. "There is no man of judgment that looketh into the nature of these times, but will easily descry that the wits of these days are too much refined for any man *to walk invisible.*" *Obs. on a Libel*

"We steal as in a castle, cocksure: we have the receipt of fernseed: *we walk invisible.*" 1 *Hen. IV.* II. i. 95.

2. "And knowing for the other point that *envy ever accompanieteth greatness,* though never so well deserved."

"As full of *envy at his greatness.*" *Troil.* II. i. 36.

3. "The *moon* so constant *in inconstancy.*"—(*Trans. 104th Psalm.*)

"I will preserve, theaefore, even as the heavenly bodies themselves do, *a variable constancy.*" *Thema Cœli.*

"Oh swear not by the *moon,* the *inconstant moon*
That monthly changes in her circled orb,
Lest that thy love prove likewise variable."
*R. and J.* II. ii. 109.

4. For I did play a lamentable part:
Madam, 'twas Ariadne passioning,
For Theseus' perjury and unjust flight.
*Tw. G.* IV. iv. 172.

Bacon describing Dionysius writes:—

"He took to wife Ariadne, *forsaken and left by Theseus.*"
*Wisd. An.* 24.

5. "Now for the evidence against this Lady, I am sorry I must rip up. I shall first show you the purveyance or provision of the poisons; that they were 7 in number, brought to this Lady and by her billetted and laid up till they might be used; and this done with an oath or vow of secrecy which is like the Egyptian darkness, a gross and palpable darkness that may be felt." *Speech against Somerset,* 1616.

"There is no darkness but ignorance, in which thou art more puzzl'd than the Egyptians in their fog." *Tw. N.* IV. ii. 46.

6. "But it was ordained that this *winding ivy* of a Plantagenet should kill the tree itself."—(*History of Henry VII.*)

That now he was
The *ivy* which had hid my princely trunk,
And suck'd my verdure out on't. *Temp.* I. ii. 86.

7. "It is certain that the best governments, yea, and the best men, are like the best precious stones, wherein every flaw or icicle or grain are seen and noted more than those that are generally foul and corrupted." *Address to the Speaker*, 1621.

For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds;
Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds. *Son*, 94.
See *Promus* Notes 89, 63, 1331.

8. "The Muses are seen in the company of Passion: and there is almost no affection so depraved and vile which is not soothed by some kind of learning." *De Aug.* II. xiii. Wisd. A. 24.

In Law what plea so tainted and corrupt,
But being seasoned with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil? In Religion,
What damned error, but some sober brow
Will bless it, and approve it with a text.
*M. Ven.* III. ii, 75.

9. There do the stately ships plough up the *floods*,
The *Greater Navies* look like *walking woods*. *Psalm 104.*
"Our *great navy's* rigged." *Ant. Cleop.* III. v. 20.

The two lines from the Psalm reveal the hand that wrote Macbeth. The "*walking woods*" remind us of "Great Birnam wood that moves to Dunsinane." In the plays we repeatedly find use of the word "*floods*" in context with "*ships*":—

Rich burghers of the flood. *Mer. V.* I. i. 10.
The embarked traders on the flood. *M. N. D.* II. i. 127.

10. Periander being consulted with how to preserve a tyranny, bid the messenger stand still, and he walking in a garden topp'd all the highest flowers, signifying the cutting off and the keeping low of the nobility. *De Aug.* VI. i.

Go thou, and like an executioner,
Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,
That look too lofty in our common-wealth;
All must be even in our government.
*Rich. II.* III. iv. 33.

11. "And whereas Pan is reported to have called the *Moon* aside into *a high shadowed wood* seems to appertain to the convention *between sense and heavenly or divine things*. For the case of Endymion and Pan are different; *the moon of her own accord came to Endymion as he was asleep*." *De Aug.* II. xiii.

Peace, ho! the *moon sleeps with Endymion,*
*And would not be awakened.* *Mer. V.* V. i. 109.
The moon sleeps with Endymion every day.
*Marlowe's Ovid*, I. xiii. 43.

12. "For marigolds, tulips, pimpernels, and indeed most flowers, do open or spread their leaves abroad, when the sun shineth serene and fair: and again in some part close them, or gather them inwards, either towards night, or when the sky is overcast." *Syl. Syl.* 493.

The marigold that *goes to bed with the sun,*
And with him rises weeping. *W. T.* IV. iv. 105.
Great princes, favourites their fair leaves spread
But as the marigold at the sun's eye. *Son.* 25.

13. "There is a *cherry tree that hath double blossoms*." *Syl. Syl.* 513.

So we grew together,
Like to a *double cherry*, seeming parted,
But yet a union in partition. *M. N. D.* III. ii. 208.

14. "Of this sort is the Blossom of March, whereof the French proverb goes,—

Burgeon de Mars, Enfans de Paris,
Si un eschappe bien vaut dix.

So that the Blossom of May generally is better than the Blossom of March, and yet in particular the best Blossom of March is better than the best Blossom of May." *Colours of Good and Evil*, No. 2.

See *Promus* Note, No. 1314.

Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May. *Son.* 18.
mong nine bad, if one be good,
There's yet one good in ten." *All's Well* iii. 81.

15. "The Colours that shew best by candle light are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water green, and oes or spangs."
*(Essay of Masques).*

*Don A.* Of what complexion?
*Moth.* Of the *sea-water* green. . . . .
Your face is . . full of oes.
*L. L. Lost*, I. ii. 82.

This passage is closely connected with a Masque. Compare

"The eastern gate, all fiery red,
Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
Turns into yellow gold his *salt-green* streams."

*M. N. D.*, III. ii. 391.

Here also *salt-green* is a colour seen by night.

16. "A *Chameleon* is a creature about the bigness of an ordinary lizard, his head unproportionately big, his eyes great. He moveth his head without the writhing of his neck (which is inflexible), as a *Hog* doth" *Syl. Syl.* 360.

No better example could be found for an author disguising his *true colours* under another's than this animal, which Bacon compares to a Hog, because, as he goes on to tell us, the chameleon *changes its colours*: "If he be laid upon green, the green predominateth; if upon yellow, the yellow; laid upon black, he looketh all black. He feedeth not only upon air (*though that be his principal sustenance*); for sometimes he taketh flies, as was said. Yet some that have kept *chameleons* a whole year together could never perceive that they fed upon anything but air."

*King.* How fares our cousin Hamlet?
*Hamlet.* Excellent, i' faith; *of the chameleon's dish*; *I eat the air*, promise-crammed; you cannot feed capons so.

*Ham.* III., ii. 97.

Though the *Chameleon Love can feed on the air*, I am one that am nourished on my victuals. *Tw. G. V.* II. i. 178.

I can add colours to the chameleon;
*Change shapes with Proteus for advantages.*

*3 Hen. VI.* III. ii. 191.

*Sil.* What, angry, Sir Thurio! Do you *change colour?*
*Val.* Give him leave, madam; he is *a kind of chameleon.*

*Tw. G, V.* II. iv. 23.

Now, the reader may see that the author of the plays employs the chameleon as an image of Proteus, as a *changer* of shapes, and as living upon air, thus reproducing the Statements of Bacon's *Syl. Syl.*

17. "It is true, nevertheless, that a *great light* drowneth a smaller, *that it cannot be seen;* as the sun that of a glow-worm; as well as a great sound drowneth the lesser" *Syl Syl.* 224.

*Portia.* That light we see is burning in my hall,
How far that little *candle* throws his beams ;
So shines a good deed in a naughty world.
*Nerissa.* When the moon shone we did not see the candle.
*Portia. So doth the greater glory dim the less. Mer.* V., V. i. 89.

A few lines further on, Bacon introduces *candles*, showing the identity of thought in both passages :—

"And *two candles* of like light will not make things seem twice as far off as one." *Syl. Syl.* 224.

18. "It is first to be considered what great motions there are in nature, which pass *without sound or noise.* The heavens turn about in a most rapid motion, *without noise to us perceived ;* though in some dreams they have been said to make an excellent music." *Syl. Syl.* 115.

Soft stillness, and the night,
Become the touches of sweet harmony.
Sit, Jessica. Look, how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold :
There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st,
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims :
Such harmony is in immortal souls ;
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in, *we cannot hear it. Mer.* V. i. 56.

Bacon also writes, "The winds in the upper regions, which move the clouds above, which we call the rack, and are not perceived below, *pass without noise.* The lower winds in a plain, except they be strong, *make no noise.*" *Syl. Syl.* 115.

The moon shines bright :—in such a night as this,
When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,
*And they did make no noise. Mer.* V. i. 1.

19. (*Enter* Duke, Curio, Lords ; Musicians attending.)
*Duke.* If music be the food of love, play on.
Give me excess of it, that, surfeiting,
The appetite may sicken, and so die.—
That strain again !—*It had a dying fall ;*
O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet south,
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing, and giving odour. *Tw. N.* I. i. 1.

It is to be noted in this passage that *taste, sound, and smell* (the ear, the nose and the palate) are brought in to illustrate each other. Let it be noted that Bacon, in his Natural History, writes thus :— "Nevertheless, we have some *slides and relishes* of the voice or strings, as it were tinued without notes, from one tone to another, rising or *falling, which are delightful*." No. 110.

"Again, the *falling* from a discord to a concord, which maketh great sweetness in music, hath an *agreement with the affections*." *ib.*

Now, in the opening passage of the play quoted above, we have music compared to the *food* of love, and to the *odour* of violets, so that the senses of taste and smell are here brought in with the sense of *hearing*, in a remarkable manner, as profound as it is philosophical. Nobody but a philosopher who had long reflected upon the intimacy of the senses to each other, would have brought them in, in this extraordinary way by chance. Now, the reader will find Bacon illustrating the sense of hearing (music) with the other senses of taste smell, and feelings (love), in exactly the same order as in the passage of the play :—"And as for the *smelling* (which, indeed, worketh also immediately upon the *spirits*, and is forcible while the object remaineth) it is with a communication of the breath or vapour of the *object odorate* ; but *harmony*, entering easily, and mingling not at all, and coming with a manifest motion, doth by custom of often affecting the *spirits*, and putting them into one kind of posture, alter not a little the nature of the *spirits*, even when the object is removed." *ib.* 114.

The reader will see that Bacon, in this passage, connotes or compares the sense of smell with music. Indeed, he uses the word "*odorate*," and in the play we have the word "*odours*." But the parallel continues. Bacon describes the effect of music (harmony) upon the *spirits and affections*. "And therefore we see that tunes or airs, even in their own nature, have in themselves some affinity with the affections. *Syl. Syl., 114.*"

> O spirit of love, how quick and fresh art thou,
> That, notwithstanding thy capacity
> Receiveth as the sea, nought enters there,
> Of what validity and pitch soe'er,
> But falls into abatement and low price,
> Even in a minute ! so full of shapes is fancy,
> That it alone is high-fantastical. *Tw. N.* I. i. 9.

20. It will be, no doubt, readily granted that the introduction and *magic* performed by Oberon and Titania, and Puck in the Dream, are a sort of *Natural Magic*, because we find Oberon and Titania connoted with nature in unmistakable terms, as "*parents and originals*," and out of their mutual quarrels arise alterations in the seasons.

*Tita.* These are the forgeries of jealousy :
And never, since the middle summer's spring,
Met we on hill, in dale, forest or mead,
By pavèd fountain, or by rushy brook,
Or on the beachèd margent of the sea,
To dance our ringlets to the whistling wind,
But with thy brawls thou hast disturb'd our sport,
Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain,
As in revenge, have suck'd up from the sea
Contagious fogs ; . . . .
And this same progeny of evils comes
From our debate, from our dissension ;
*We are their parents and original.* *M. N. D.*, II. . 81.

Now, the characters of this fairy mythology are borrowed from Hugh of Bordeaux (*Huon de Bourdeaux*), and are given in Hazlit's Shakespeare library, under the title of "The Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare." We find King Arthur also mixed up with Oberon, in Chapter 146, which has for title :—

"How the noble kinge Oberon crowned Huon and Escleremond, and gave them all his realme and dignitie that he hadde in the land of the fayrie, and made the peace betweene Huon and king Arthur."

Puck is taken from Robin Goodfellow, also by Huon de Bordeaux.

This most important, indeed the most valuable illustration we have of *The Midsummer's Night's Dream* is reprinted from a black-letter tract of the utmost rarity, published in London in 1628, under the title of "Robin Goodfellow, his mad pranks, and merry Jests, full of honest mirth, and is a fit medicine for melancholy."

Shakespeare probably took the name of Oberon from this early French Romance, which was translated into English about 1540 by Lord Berners, at the request of the Earl of Huntingdon. It is mentioned among Captain Cox's books, Laneham's Letter, 1575, and in Markham's "Health to the gentlemanly profession of Servingmen," 1598 ; but the earliest edition of the English translation now known to exist in a perfect state bears date in 1601, "being now

the third time imprinted, and the rude English corrected and amended." From this edition the above extracts are made, which are curious as being probably the work in which Shakespeare had read of Oberon and fairy-land, and reconciled him to transporting his native fairy creed so far towards the magic regions of the East.

Now, how is it that we find Bacon (*De Aug.* III. v.) bringing in *Natural Magic* in context with the Book of Huon, or Hugh (as he called it), of Bordeaux? "As for the Natural Magic (which flies abroad in many men's books) containing certain credulous and superstitious traditions and observations of *sympathies* and *antipathies*, and of hidden and specific properties, with some experiments commonly frivolous,—strange, rather, for *the art of conveyance and disprisement* than the thing itself; surely he shall not much err who shall say that this sort of magic is as far differing in truth of nature from such a knowledge as we require, as the Books of the Jests of *Arthur of Britain or of Huon of Bordeaux differ from* Cæsar's commentaries, in truth of story."

Here then we have proof positive that Bacon was acquainted with the source from which Oberon and Puck are drawn. It is another link in the interminable chain of evidence to find him familiar with this poetical and magical class of literature, belonging to the Arthurian romance cycle. It is just in the character of *Natural Magic* that Puck, Oberon, and Titania are introduced, and though Bacon condemns this class of fable, he only does so as belonging to metaphysical, speculative, or magical knowledge, in contradistinction to his inductive system. Besides, does he not give us a profound hint that this class of fable is "rather for the art of conveyance and disprisement," in which manner they are evidently introduced in the Dream. Bacon then goes on to say "the operation of this superficial and degenerate *Natural Magic* upon men is like some soporiferous drugs, which procure *sleep*, and withal exhale into the fancy, merry, and *pleasant dreams in sleep*." Observe that the title of the play in which Oberon and Puck are introduced is *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*, which concludes with these words,—

> *Puck.* If we shadows have offended,
> Think but this and all is mended,
> That you have but slumber'd here,
> While these visions did appear.
> And this weak and idle theme,
> No more yielding but a dream.

So that we have the reprehension of the play as *merely a dream* insisted upon in the same way by Shakespeare.

W. F. C. Wigston.

# MARLOWE'S EDWARD II.

THE extraordinary affinity between Marlowe and Shakespeare has been repeatedly noticed by critics and historians of the Elizabethan drama. Marlowe is always referred to as the precursor of Shakespeare, the inaugurator of the art which he perfected. So close is the relation between them that the lines of continuity are unbroken, or, as Mr. Bullen says, "it is hard to distinguish between master and man." In fact, they are represented as overlapping and interpenetrating in a most anomalous style. In the *King Henry VI.* plays we are invited to look on a perplexing mosaic; we skip backwards and forwards between the two writers in a very uncritical and unnatural way. Such a co-partnership certainly never existed in nature or art. The relationship between Shakespeare and Marlowe is not likely to be such as may be symbolised by a patchwork quilt or a mosaic box. My present object is to shew, so far as the play of *Edward II.* is concerned, that the poet of "Marlowe" and the poet of "Shakespeare" are one and the same person.

In the argument immediately under consideration I do not attach much importance to the very few known facts of Marlowe's life. It may be allowed that so far as they are accurately known, they are but faintly or dubiously significant one way or another. That an educated University man should have become an actor—that is, in those days, a vagabond and an outcast—gives colour to the suspicion that he had somehow lost caste, and sunk to a lower social level. If, in addition to this, he was apt to be rash, unguarded, or profane in speech, we can understand how easily he might be accused of Atheism and blasphemy, expressed in obscene and revolting terms. Such a charge could not be constructed out of his poetry, even admitting that the audacity of *Faustus* might lay him open to suspicion. The circumstances of his death are not accurately known; but it is difficult to believe that a man who was stabbed to death in a horrid quarrel over a girl in a Deptford public-house, could have been capable of the "mighty lines," and the mightier bursts of poetic eloquence that abound in all the poems attributed to him.

These are facts which need not be pressed very far; but they certainly lend antecedent probability to the supposition that he was not the true founder of the Elizabethan drama, the literary progenitor of Shakespeare.

What concerns us more is the unvarying mystery that shrouds the origin and production of every one of the Marlowe plays and poems. In no single case is there a simple and straightforward history attached to them. There is about them precisely the same kind of anomaly as that which surrounds the Shakespeare Folio of 1623—which is really one of the greatest paradoxes of literature. Marlowe's reputation is absolutely and entirely posthumous. During his lifetime only two of the plays which have been since assigned to him were published, or can be proved to have existed: those two are the two parts of *Tamburlaine*, and they were published anonymously. There is no reason for believing them to be his, which is not open to dispute. Mr. Bullen's belief rests almost exclusively on internal evidence. He says, "From internal evidence there can be no doubt that *Tamburlaine* was written wholly by Marlowe; but on the title pages of the early editions there is no author's name, and we have no decisive piece of external evidence to fix the authorship on Marlowe." This, of course, leaves the matter absolu ely open, and if internal evidence is to help us to a decision, then there is room for the Baconian case, which arises as soon as the "previous question" is moved. By internal evidence the critics appear to mean qualities of style and expression and thought, positive and negative,—*i.e.*, attributes both possessed and absent, both powers and limitations,—belonging to a particular mind; and it is really difficult to say how internal evidence of this kind is to be applied in the case of a writer whose mental characteristics, except as portrayed in the writings in dispute, are entirely unknown. This difficulty is quietly ignored by all the critics.

Internal evidence, says Mr. Charles Knight—and his argument is copious, and, I think, complete—proves that the *Henry VI.* plays are entirely the work of the young Shakespeare. Internal evidence, say other critics, proves that *Henry VI.* was partly or entirely Marlowe's. Therefore internal evidence, even under the handling of orthodox Shakespeare critics, has something to say for the identity of Shakespeare and Marlowe. Again, Mr Knight speaks of *Tamburlaine* as "a play which Mr. Collier holds to be Marlowe's work;" and again, "Mr. Collier has proved, very conclusively we think, that Marlowe was the author of *Tamburlaine*." But Marlowe is not the only candidate for this

authorship. Malone found reason for thinking that Nash was partly or entirely the author of *Tamburlaine*. Whether the proofs that Mr. Knight thought conclusive are so or not, is evidently open to discussion—some of Mr. Collier's "proofs" seem to have been invented for the occasion—the point that concerns us is that such proof is required at all, and that *Tamburlaine* may be therefore regarded as a waif and stray in search of an owner.

It seems then that the authorship of *Tamburlaine* is still an open question. Its inclusion in "Marlowe's Works" goes for nothing. No collected edition of Marlowe was made till Robinson's was published in 1826, and no authority can be attached to any collection made so late. Mr. Robinson, in the preface to this earliest edition of Marlowe, says, "It may be inferred from the prologue to *The troublesome Reign of John, King of England*, that *Tamburlaine* was written by the author of that play, which has never been assigned to Marlowe:—

> You that with friendly grace and smoothed brow,
> Have entertained the Scythian Tamburlaine,
> And given applause unto an infidel,
> Vouchsafe to welcome with like courtesy,
> A warlike Christian and your countryman."

Inasmuch as the *Troublesome Reign* is most probably Bacon's early draft of *King John*, this conjecture is likely to be not very wide of the mark, although the words quoted do not necessarily bear this meaning.

With reference to *Faustus* the difficulties are much greater. *Faustus* is not known to have existed before 1594, and the only allusion known of this early date is to be found in the much-tampered-with Diary of Henslowe, which supplied so many "new facts" to Mr. Collier. Mr. Bullen says "It was entered in the Stationers' books on January 7, 1601; but the earliest extant edition is the quarto of 1604, which was reprinted with very slight additions in 1609. An edition with very numerous additions and alterations appeared in 1616," *i.e.*, it was enlarged to half as much again, and a good many of the earlier scenes were re-cast and rewritten. These 1616 additions are a great puzzle. They are not to be distinguished in manner or value from the rest of the poem, and are evidently by the same author. There is no patchwork in the revised form of *Faustus*. No one would ever have dreamed of a second author, if the original authorship had not been fastened upon a man who died 23 years before these additions were published, and they alone are sufficient to justify wholesome scepticism and rigorous enquiry into

the whole question. Moreover, even in the earliest edition, there is an allusion to Dr. Lopez, whose name did not come into public notice till 1594. Another passage, referring to the comparative value of French and English money, it is supposed could not have been written before 1597, and by 1616 it had become antiquated and was omitted.* The 1616 ed. introduces "Bruno, led in chains." Bruno's persecutions and ultimate martyrdom did not begin till many years after Marlowe's death. It seems almost as if the poet, when he revised his work in 1616, purposely inserted allusions and anachronisms which would necessarily lead the critical reader, whenever he might appear, to reconsider the question of authorship. And this is surely a more reasonable explanation of these anomalies, than to gloss them over or explain them away by all sorts of adventurous and question-begging speculations.

Of course, critics are obliged to say that the scenes in which these anachronisms occur are interpolations, but the only reason for so regarding them is the awkward fact that the supposed author died in 1593. Mr. Collier produced an entry from Henslowe's Diary (perhaps a forgery—who knows which of Mr. Collier's facts are forgeries, and which are not?) referring to four pounds paid to William Bird and Samuel Rowley for additions to *Faustus*. But as this entry is dated 1602, the additions, if they exist at all, may just as well have appeared in the 1604 edition as at any other time, and certainly do not account for the large and important alterations produced in 1616, which it is allowed, are such as neither of these hack writers could have made. The entry is so vague that no valuable inference can be drawn from it. If Bird and Rowley really wrote any additions to *Faustus*, they were probably only the same sort of "fond and frivolous gestures . . . . of some vain-conceited fondlings greatly gaped at," which had at one time disfigured *Tamburlaine*, as we are told in the "printer's" address, prefixed to that play, and which were judiciously omitted in publication.

The *Jew of Malta* is mentioned in the Stationers' books in 1594; but the earliest known edition is that of 1633. *Edward II.* was entered at Stationers' Hall in July 1593, but not published, so far as is known, till 1598. *Dido* was published in 1594. *Hero and Leander*, entered at Stationers' Hall in September 1593, was published in 1598. The original poem consisted of two Cantos, or, as they are called,

*See Ward's Introduction to *Faustus*, p. xcix., note 3.

*Sestiads*. Four more were added the same year under the name of George Chapman. This continuation is also a great puzzle to all the critics. It is obviously written by the same poet who penned the first two Sestiads, although there is a falling off in poetic merit—a heaviness and occasional obscurity, which we do not find in the earlier portion. There is, however, much the same contrast, only more marked, between the first two acts of the *Jew of Malta* and the rest of the play. The Poem is full of Shakespearian touches, and no one who reads Chapman's acknowledged plays—such as the *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, *All Fools*, *&c.*—will find in these plays the least indication of the poet who wrote any part of *Hero and Leander*. A passage in the third Sestiad, in which the poet makes a dark reference to "his free soul who drank to me half this Musæan Story," and professes to "tender his late desires" (*i.e.*, to carry out the testamentary or death-bed wishes of a dissipated young man who met with a sudden and violent death), is so evidently a piece of masquerade that it rather confirms than confutes the surmise that there is a veil over the real author's face, and that this veil had to be doubled when the continuation of *Hero and Leander* was published. It may be noted also that Lieutenant Cunningham, commenting in his edition of Marlowe, on a passage in the last Sestiad, is daring enough to lift the Chapman mask; he remarks "Surely this was written by the author of Dr. Faustus."

My present object is to produce, in some detail, the very strong internal evidence that connects *Edward II.* with the Shakespeare poems. But let it be noted that there are two kinds of internal evidence. Both have their value, but both are not equally available for argument in a matter that is keenly and even hotly disputed. I do not intend to bring forward that kind of internal evidence which arises when some impassioned critic reads out passages from the disputed pieces, puts into them all the fervour and passion which his voice can command, and then exclaims—as if no other evidence were required—"There! is not that Shakespeare's?" I have nothing at present to do with the general impression of individuality which a capable reader feels in perusing the poems. This, which is the vaguest of all tests—not capable indeed of being formulated at all—is the one which is most vehemently and even defiantly produced in this discussion, and those who cannot assent to conclusions so penned, are condemned as of doubtful sanity, or as "earless and unabashed" (Bullen), or as "characteristic-blind" (Furnivall &c.).

In truth nothing can be more "uncritical" and unscientific than the confident application of this test to a poet's earliest writings. The reasons which oblige a naturalist to see in an unlicked cub, or an unfledged, featureless nestling, the essential structure of the full-grown animal, are not on the surface, immediately perceptible to the eye or the ear. There are cases in which the pre-conceptions of the eye and ear must be put aside, and laws of evolution allowed to speak.

And yet on this evidence it is affirmed that every "sane critic" admits that Marlowe was destitute of humour, and incapable of writing the comic scenes in his plays. For the same reason we are required to believe that Marlowe could not develop a plot, and that he was destitute of sympathy with all the phases of humanity. The "Ercles vein"—grandiloquent, bombastic, fantastic, extravagant—which is present in *Tamburlaine* (although it is almost entirely absent in *Edward II.*, and is very much restrained in *Hero and Leander*), is supposed to be Marlowe's especial note. This test is ridiculously easy of application, and on that account, one would think rather suspicious when applied to the early unripe works of a great dramatic genius. This little toy-test, however, is employed to select those parts of *Henry VI.* which are to be handed over to him; and with this clue the whole of *Tit. And.*, and a good deal of the *Taming of the Shrew* is made over to his custody.

All these judgments appear to me entirely arbitrary, and somewhat trifling. If we are to determine what kind of poet Marlowe was, it is safest to go to the record itself, instead of consulting one's inner consciousness. So looking, we cannot fail to recognise at least four different styles in these writings; typified by 1: The pomposity and turgescence of *Tamburlaine*, and, in less degree, of *Dido*; 2: The comic scenes in *Faustus*; 3: The lyrical sweetness and exuberant fancy of *Hero and Leander*, and *Come live with me*; 4: The character-painting and dramatic-sobriety of *Edward II.*, in which we see the germ, or rather the first start, of the Shakespeare series of historic plays. All these characteristics are reproduced, most exactly, in Shakespeare. Not to adduce the disputed *Tit. And.*, in which the extravagance of *Tamburlaine* and the horrors of the *Jew of Malta* are present in an augmented degree—nor the passages in *Henry VI.*, which are so obviously Marlowesque, that their origin is brought into question—let anyone read the interior play in *Hamlet*, where the poet suddenly adopts an entirely different style, and then compare it with some parts of *Dido*; the resemblance is strange, startling, obvious to

the most uncritical reader; while, to a critical student, most urgent and clamorous questions of origin instantly present themselves. Mr. Bullen notes that "a few years ago a theory was gravely propounded that the player's speech in *Hamlet* was 'written originally by Shakespeare to complete Marlowe's play.'" Mr. Bullen's comment is almost hysteric in its revulsion from this bold, bad speculation. "This Titanic absurdity," he adds, "gross as a mountain, open, palpable, was received with much applause in certain quarters." Doubtless the suggestion, in the form stated, is unreasonable; but it appears as if Mr. Bullen's fierce denunciation is intended to smother his own unwilling conviction that there is something in it. It is plain that when Bacon wrote the player's speeches in *Hamlet*, he drew upon what may have been his own earlier style; perhaps he used some rejected MSS. which had survived from the Marlowe period of his career. At any rate the "internal evidence" that Marlowe wrote this interior play in *Hamlet* is quite as strong as that he wrote *Tamburlaine* or *Dido*. And there is nothing more characteristic of Marlowe than Hamlet's ranting speech when he leaps into Ophelia's grave (Act V., sc. i. 297—306), which Miss Lee and her followers would of course hand over to Marlowe. These curious survivals of the Marlowe style shew that the poet had repented his youthful extravagances—as he uses the style to represent assumed madness or ranting stage situations—but was quite capable of repeating it if the dramatic opportunity presented itself.*

It seems then that the Marlowe poems fill up the vacuum left by the Shakespeare series. In them we see the poet, in his early but Titanic maturity, with the faults of youth allied to the exuberance of genius; before his dramatic powers had developed; when, as Mr. Bullen very truly points out, the construction of plot had not entered into his ideal; when his experience of life, and that large sympathy with all phases of human existence which is so wonderful in Shakespeare, has not out-grown its early limitations; when the gift of humour had not been evoked by the friction of experience, by the sorrows and struggles of his own life. No considerate student can possibly affirm that the genius which blossomed so magnificently and yet developed so imperfectly in these few poems, had then displayed all its

* The comparison between *Dido*, and the player's speeches in *Hamlet*, has been worked out in detail by Mr. H. Arthur Kennedy, in the *Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1889, Vol. LVI., p. 583.

latent possibilities, so that we are entitled to say exactly not only what powers he had, but what he had *not*, and never could have. It was mad Ophelia who, "with a happiness that often madness hits on, which reason and sanity could not so prosperously be delivered of," exclaimed, "Lord! we know what we are, but know not what we may be:" and it seems to me that there is more of madness in the converse affirmation, and that for any one to say of Marlowe that he had no humour and never could develop it, is the wildest possible license of self-willed and arbitrary criticism. "No sane critic," to adopt Mr. Bullen's rather dragooning and intolerant expression, will venture upon such very disputable gustation.

The internal evidence which I have to produce consists of such identity (not merely similarity) of expression or idea as is distinctly demonstrative of identical authorship, if it can be shewn to be so extended, so subtle, so spontaneous, as to exclude the alternative explanation of accidental coincidence, or conscious plagiarism or appropriation. That this kind of evidence can be appreciated and employed by Shakespearian scholars, when it helps to maintain any theory which they favour, is proved by many instances. Thus Mr. Gerald Massey finds in this sort of evidence proof that Shakespeare wrote one of the poems in *England's Helicon*. (See Parallel No. 83 *post.*) Mr. Charles Knight uses it most successfully in his argument for the Shakespearian origin of the *Hen. VI.* plays. And, to come within speaking distance of the case before us, Mr. Fleay proves to his own satisfaction in this way that *Henry VI.* was, to a great extent, written by Marlowe. He adduces 12 words which he finds in *Edward II.* and *Henry VI.*, or *Tam. Sh.*, but "in no undoubted plays of Shakespeare." These words are *Exequies*, *shipwreck*, (as a noun) *buckler* (as a verb), *embroider*, *Tully*, *serge*, *verb*, *foreslow*, *magnanimity*, *preachment*, *Atlas* and *impale*. He then quotes 11 parallel passages from the plays, "a few (he says) selected out of many" (but the *many* are not published anywhere, so far as my searching extends); and he adds,—"These similarities are sufficient, in my mind, to prove "identity of authorship in a large portion of these plays." Now if this not very unreasonable conclusion of Mr. Fleay's, so far as identity of authorship is concerned, is linked on to Mr. Knight's much more reasonable conclusion, inasmuch as it is supported by a much larger induction of instances, that *Henry VI.* was written entirely by Shakespeare, we arrive at the exact conclusion which it is our object to establish—viz., that Marlowe and Shakespeare are two different

masks for one concealed poet ; and as soon as this point is reached it will not be difficult to shew who this hidden writer is. Before leaving Mr. Fleay's argument, it may be remarked that every play has words which occur in no other play, and that these ἅπαξ λεγόμενα are quite as likely to differentiate dates as pens.* Like all negative arguments the significance of this is very uncertain. Any conclusion so suggested must be cautiously tested by other methods of investigation and be always treated as a provisional or working hypothesis until it is established by more direct and positive proofs. Such proofs indeed Mr. Fleay produces, but it appears to me that the foundation is rather frail and shallow for the large negative conclusion that he builds upon it. Certainly Baconians do not feel themselves entitled to construct such inverted pyramids.

The play of *Edward the Second* marks the transition between the early "Ercles Vein" and the genuine Shakespeare drama. It is exactly the required connecting link that bridges over the vast chasm between these styles, and warns us not to attach too much importance to similar chasms existing elsewhere. Mr. Knight thinks that there is no passage across this gulf, and that the bombastic writer of *Tamburlaine* could not have written the early drafts of *Henry VI.* His language is very instructive :—

"The theory that Marlowe wrote one or both parts of the *Contention* must begin by assuming that his mind was so thoroughly disciplined at the period when he produced *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus* and the *Jew of Malta*, that he was able to lay aside every element, whether of thought or expression, by which those plays are characterized; adopt essentially different principles for the dramatic conduct of a story; copy his characters from living and breathing models of actual men; come down from his pomp and extravagance of language, not to reject poetry, but to ally poetry with familiar and natural thoughts."

Now this impossible evolution is exactly what we find in *Edw. II.* This strange transformation has been effected, and may be described most fitly in Mr. Knight's own language. To this Mr. Dyce (among many others) testifies. He says of *Edw. II.*,—"Taken as a whole "it is the most perfect of his plays ; *there is no overdoing of character, no turgescence of language.*" Mr. Knight is evidently conscious that *Edw. II.* may be brought in evidence against him, and he avoids this difficulty by representing that "in *Edw. II.* the author, possessing the

* On a rough computation I find that there are more than 2,000 words in Shakespeare which are used only once.

power of adaptation, to ascertain extent, which always belongs to genius, was still pursued by his original faults of exaggeration and inflation of language." He justifies this allegation by a few quotations: the passages he quotes are the following: I. iv. 170-179—I. iv. 311-317,—III. ii. 128-147,—IV. vi. 86-91,—IV. vi. 99-103.

Any one referring to these passages will at once see that they are exactly such lines as the author of *Hen. VI.* might have written,—exactly of the same type as the many passages which are selected by critics to prove that Marlowe wrote *Hen. VI.* No one will contend that *Edw. II.* contains no traces of the old style; but assuredly the traces are only just sufficient to link the two together, and to cancel any antecedent probability that the poet of *Tamburlaine*, when ripened, might develop into the poet of *Henry IV.* or *Lear*.

Three early quarto editions of *Edw. II.* are known: 1598, 1612, and 1622. There is no very essential difference between them,* but anyone comparing them will find a few minute changes of precisely such a character as the author himself would make—and for the most part such as would have occurred to no other reviser. The following specimens may suffice.

1. And prodigal gifts bestowed on Gaveston
   Have drawn thy *treasure* dry. 1598.
   Have drawn thy *treasury* dry. 1612. II. ii. 154.

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*Mr. Tancock describes the 1598 edition as "a somewhat carelessly printed quarto, probably from a prompter's copy." I cannot account for this estimate of the 1598 ed. From personal inspection of the three early quartos, I am persuaded that it was very carefully printed, and is just as authentic as the subsequent editions. The fashion of gratuitously conjuring up prompter's copies, acting MSS., playhouse versions, shorthand reports, reproductions from memory, &c., has muddled all modern critical accounts of these early plays, and made natural causes invisible. In this case anyone can ascertain how far the 1598 ed. deserves Mr. Tancock's depreciation by consulting Mr. Fleay's edition, which points out in detail all the changes made in 1612 and 1622. That they are very insignificant, the few specimens given in the text will sufficiently indicate. There are not thirty such alterations in the whole play, and not one of them is of a nature to reflect injuriously on the first edition. In fact, it was with some hesitation that I produced these at all (before observing Mr. Tancock's note), fearing lest I might incur censure for using slight or strained arguments.

2. They bark'd apace *a month ago.* 1598.
   They bark'd apace *not long ago.* 1612. IV. iii. 12.
3. *Come,* Leister, then, in Isabella's name! 1598.
   *Comes* Leister? &c. 1612. V. vi. 64.
4. In which *extreme* my mind here murthered is. 1598.
   In which *extremes,* &c. 1612. V. i. 55.
5. To strangle with a lawn thrust *through the throat.* 1598.
   Thrust *down the throat.* 1612. IV. iv. 31.
6. *Let me not die; yet* stay, oh, stay awhile. 1598, 1612.
   *Let me not die yet;* stay, &c. 1622. IV. v. 98.

By these simple changes, even in punctuation, the whole colour of a passage is often altered, and almost always these small corrections tend to clear and modernize the construction.

I will now refer to some of the resemblances between *Edw. II.* and passages in Shakespeare. The references to acts, scenes, and lines are made to the very excellent Clarendon edition, edited by Mr. Tancock. The numbers in Mr. Fleay's and Mr. Bullen's editions are in most cases the same. Certainly the variation of a few lines need not create any difficulty in verifying the quotations.

[Note.—Some of these resemblances have been more or less completely pointed out, by Dyce, Fleay, Tancock, Verity, and others. The passages are indicated by the initials (D. F. T. V.) of these four. Mrs. Pott has supplied me with some which I had not observed, and with a good many that I had. If her notes were published, this paper would probably be entirely superseded. It will be seen that 33 out of the 103 have been anticipated: but in many of these cases the comparison stops short at the *Henry VI.* plays; the very important comparisons that run through all the Shakespearian plays have been scarcely touched upon. Mr. Tancock has pointed out more of these than any previous writer, but even he has given only a few out of the large store that are to be found.]

1. *Ah! words that make me surfeit with delight.* L. i. 3.
   Henry . . . surfeiting in joys of love. *2 Hen. VI.,* I. i. 251.
   Sweets, Delights, and Surfeits seem much associated in the poet's mind: thus—
   Sweets grown common lose their dear delights. *Son.* 102.
   You speak like one besotted on your sweet delights. *Troilus,* II. ii. 142.
   A surfeit of the sweetest things,
   The deepest loathing to the stomach brings. *M. N. D.,* II., ii. 137.

2. (*Enter three poor men.*)
*Gaveston. But how now! What are these?*
*Poor Men: Such as desire your worship's service.*
*Gav.: What canst thou do?*
*First P. M.: I can ride.*
*Gav.: But I have no horse. What art thou?*
*Second P. M.: A traveller.*
*Gav.: Let me see: thou would'st do well*
*To wait at my trencher, and tell me lies at dinner-time.*
*And, as I like your discoursing, I'll have you.* I. i. 24.

Mr. Tancock notes, "Compare *Lear* I. iv. 10-47," where it is curiously expanded; the identity is very striking (T.)

*Cf.* also,—A good traveller is something at the latter end of a dinner.
*All's W.* II. v. 30.

Now your traveller,
He and his tooth-pick at my worship's mess,
And when my knightly stomach is sufficed,
Why then I suck my teeth and catechize,
My picked man of countries. *John* I. i. 189.

3. *I'll flatter these, and make them live in hope.* I. i. 43.
Cozening hope! He is a flatterer. *Rich. II.* II. ii. 69.

See also *2 Hen. IV.* I. iii. 27-62. Evidently there is a *cozening* quality in Gaveston's flattery. The flattery of hope is a frequent theme in Bacon's prose. See *Med. Sac. Op.* VII., 247; *Apophthegms*, No. 36; *Hist. Life and D.* V. 279, 280; *Hist Symp. and Antip.*, V. 203; Essay *of Truth*; *of Seditions*, &c.

4. *I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits,*
*Musicians, that with touching of a string,*
*May draw the pliant king which way I please:*
. . . . *I'll have Italian masques by night, &c.* I. i. 52-73.
His ear . . . is stopped with other flattering sounds:
. . . Lascivious metres, to whose venom sound,
The open ear of youth doth always listen.
Report of fashions in proud Italy. *Rich. II.*, II. i. 17-23 (T)

Mr. Tancock calls attention to the fact that the characterization and dramatic situation are precisely the same in these two passages.

5. *Dance the antic hay.* I. i. 61.
Let them dance the hay. *L. L. L.*, V. i. 161 (T.)

6. *With hair that gilds the water as it glides.* I. i. 63.
Spread o'er the silver waves thy golden hair. *Com. Er.*, III. ii. 48.

7. *This sword of mine that should offend your foes,*
*Shall sleep within the scabbard at thy need:*
*And underneath thy banner march who will,*
*For Mortimer will hang his armour up.* I. i. 87.
Steel! if thou turn the edge . . . 'ere thou sleep in thy sheath, &c.
*2 Hen. VI.* IV. x. 61.

Bacon often speaks of obsolete laws as *sleeping* (*Aphorisms of the Law, 58*); so does Shakespeare. See *M. M.*, I. ii. 169-175; II. ii. 90; *Hen. V.*, III. vi. 127. In the following passage a sleeping function and armour hanging by the wall are connected, as in *Edw. II.*, while the phraseology is varied:—

This new Governor
Awakes me all the enrolled penalties,
Which have, like unscoured armour, hung by the wall...
Now puts the drowsy and neglected act
Freshly on me. *M.M.*, I. ii. 169.

Our bruised arms hung up for monuments. *Rich. III.*, I. i. 6.

8. *This sword shall.....hew the knees that now are grown so stiff.*
I. i. 95.
Stiff, unbowed knee...disdaining duty. *3 Hen. VI.*, III. i. 16.

9. *Not Hylas was more mourned of Hercules.* I. i. 144.
See *Promus*, 785; Hylam inclamas. Cf. No. 30.

10. *King Edw.: Who's there? Convey this priest to the Tower.*
*Bishop: True, true.* I. i. 200.
*Boling.:* Go, some of you, convey him to the Tower.
*K. Rich.:* O, good! Convey? Conveyors are you all.
*Rich. II.* IV., i. 316.

Mr. Tancock uses this passage to explain the "True! true!" in *Edw. II.* Surely enigma and solution have the same origin. (T.)

11. *How now! Why droops the Earl?* I. ii. 9. (also IV. vi. 60.)
Why droops my Lord? *2 Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 1.

12 (*a*) *Swollen with* (*b*) *venom of* (*c*) *ambitious* (*d*) *pride.* I. ii. 31.
*a. d.* My high-blown pride. *Hen. VIII.*, III. ii. 361.
*a. c.* Cæsar's ambition which swelled so much. *Cymb.*, III. i. 49.
*a. c.* Blown ambition. *Lear*, IV. iv. 27.
*a. c.* I have seen th' ambitious ocean swell. *Jul. C.*, I. iii. 6.

*a. d.* The swelling pride of the See of Rome.
Bacon's *Talbot Charge*, *Life*, V. 5.

*a. b. d.* It is accounted an evident sign of poison, especially of that kind which operates by malignancy, not by corrosion, if the face or the body be swollen...A sudden burst of anger in some inflates the cheeks, as likewise does pride.
*Hist. Dense and Rare*, *Works*, V. 358.

*a, b.* Knowledge...hath in it some nature of venom or malignity, and some effects of that malignity, which is ventosity or swelling. *Adv. L.*, I. i. 3.

*a c.* Bacon advises Cecil a course to secure "honour and merit of her Majesty...without ventosity or popularity."
*Life*, III. 45.

See also No. 43.

13. *Can kingly lions fawn on creeping ants?* I. iv. 15.
When the lion fawns upon the lamb. *3 Hen. VI.*, IV. viii. 49.
As the grim lion fawns upon his prey. *Lucrece*, 421.

14. *Ignoble vassal! that like Phaeton,*
*Aspirs't unto the guidance of the sun.*
Phaeton!...Wilt thou aspire to guide the heavenly car?
*T. G. V.*, III. i. 153.

Bacon and Shakespeare often refer to the fable of Phaeton, and always in the same way. See *Letter to Essex*, II. 191; *Wisd. An.* Chap. 27, &c.

15. *Anger and wrathful fury stops my speech.* I. iv. 42.
Mad ire and wrathful fury makes me weep.
*1 Hen. VI.*, IV. iii. 28.
Boiling choler chokes
The hollow passage of my prisoned voice. *ib.* V. iv. 120.
O, why should wrath be mute and fury dumb?
*T. A.*, V. iii. 184.

16. *Are you content to banish him the realm?* I. iv. 84.
Are you contented to resign the crown?
*Rich. II.*, IV. i. 20 (T.).
See also *Tw. G. V.*, IV. i. 61.

17. *I'll enforce*
*The papal towers to kiss the lowly ground.* I. iv. 101.
Let heaven kiss earth. *2 Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 101.
The stars, I see, will kiss the valleys.
*Cymb.*, V. i. 206. See No. 21.

18. *Thou from this land, I from myself am banished.* I. iv. 118.
To die is to be banished from myself,
And Sylvia is myself. *Tw. G. V.*, III. i. 170.
Banished am I, if but from thee. *2 Hen. VI.*, III. ii. 351.

19. *That charming Circe, walking on the waves,*
*Had changed my shape.* I. iv. 172.
I think you all have drunk of Circe's cup. *Com. Er.*, V. i. 270.
As if with Circe she would change my shape.
*1 Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 35.

20. *Ungentle Queen! I say no more.* I. iv. 147.
Ungentle Queen! to call him gentle Suffolk. *2 Hen. VI.* III. ii. 290.

21. *'Twill make him vail the top-flag of his pride.* I. iv. 276.
*Vail'd is your pride.* III. iii. 38.
France must vail her lofty plumed crest.
*1 Hen. VI.* V. iii. 25.
Vailing her high top lower than her ribs.
To kiss her burial. *Mer. V.*, I. i. 28.
Thus vail your stomachs [*i.e.* pride.]
*Tam. S.*, V. ii. 176. *2 Hen. IV.* I. i. 129.

22. *The people...lean to the King.* I. iv. 283.
Northumberland did lean to him. *1 Hen. IV.*, IV. iii. 67.
Afterwards instead of *lean to* we have *incline to.* See, for instance, *Cor.* II. iii. 42., *Lear* III. iii. 14., *Adv. L.* II. x. 8.

23. *Having brought the Earl of Cornwall on his way.* I. iv. 299.
*Bear thee on thy way.* I. iv. 140; V. ii. 155.
How far brought you high Hereford on his way? *Rich. II.*, I, iii. 304; See *M.M.* I. i. 62., *L.L.L.* V. ii. 883., *M. Ado* III. ii. 3., *W.T.* IV., T. iii. 122., I. iv. 2. *Jul. Cæs.* I. iii., &c. 1 (T.).

24. *Hark! how he harps upon his minion.* I. iv. 310.
Harp not on that string. *Rich. III.*, IV., iv., 364.
See also *M.M.*, *Coriol*, *Macb.*, *Ant. Cl.*, *Hamlet*,
This string you cannot...harp upon too much. *Life* II. 42.

25. *My heart is as an anvil unto sorrow,*
*Which beats upon it like the Cyclops hammer.* I. iv. 311.
And never did the Cyclops hammer fall, &c. *Ham.* II. ii. 511.
Between the hammer and the anvil. *Promus* 741.
Though it be my fortune to be the anvil whereupon those good effects are beaten and wrought, I take no small comfort.
*Letter*, Ap. 22, 1621; *Life* VII. 242.

26. *I'll hang a golden tongue about thy neck.* I. iv. 327.
Helen's golden tongue. *Troilus* I. ii. 114.
*Golden* is a favourite epithet with Shakespeare.

27. *And as gross vapours perish by the sun*
*Even so let hatred with thy Sovereign's smile.* I. iv. 340.
The very beams will dry those vapours up. *3 Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 12.
See also *1 Hen. IV.*, I. ii. 221-227. *L.L.L.* IV. iii. 68-70.

28. *These silver hairs will more adorn my court*
*Than gaudy silks or rich embroideries.* I. iv. 345.
His silver hairs
Will purchase us a good opinion. *Jul. C.* II. i. 144.
*Silver hair* also in *2 Hen. VI.* and *T.A.* (T.)

29. *Fly! as swift as (a) Iris or (b) Jove's Mercury.* I. iv. 369.
*a* Wheresoe'er thou art in this world's globe
I'll have an Iris that shall find thee out.
*2 Hen. VI.*, III. iii. 406.
*b* Be Mercury; set feathers to thy heels,
And fly like thought from them to me again.
*John* IV. ii. 174.

Mr. Fleay wishing to show that this passage is only paralleled in what he considers doubtful plays, says, in his glossary to *Edw. II.* "*Iris*; messenger of the gods: so in *2 Hen. VI.* III. iii. 407, Iris is used for a messenger. In Shakespeare's undoubted plays Iris always means the rainbow. See *Temp.* IV. i. 160. *All's W.* I iii. 158. *Troilus* I. iii. 380."

This is strangely inaccurate. In the *Tempest* Ceres addresses Iris thus,—

Hail! many coloured *messenger* that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter.

In this play the name *Iris* only occurs in the stage directions, not in the text. But it occurs thus: "Juno and Ceres whisper *and send Iris on employment.*" And in the *All's W.* passage Iris is called "This distempered *messenger* of wet," shewing that the poet, in his wonted way, saw double when looking at Iris,—saw her as both rainbow and messenger. The Marlowe allusion is certainly reproduced in these passages, as Mr. Fleay, if he had been free from bias, would surely have observed and acknowledged, and not ambiguously denied.

T

30. *The mightiest kings have had their minions.*
*Great Alexander loved Hephæstion.*
*The conquering Hercules for Hylas wept,*
*And for Patroclus stern Achilles droop'd.*
*And not kings only, but the wisest men.*
*The Roman Tully loved Octavius,*
*Grave Socrates, wild Alcibiades.* I. iv. 390.

This passage invites much comment, some hints for which may be found in Bacon Journal, vol. I., p. 97. It was Bacon's habit to minimize misfortune by a string of historical examples. Of this there are many typical illustrations, singularly resembling one another, both in the prose and poetry. "Peruse the Catalogue" he exclaims, referring to the childless state of the Queen; and instances are given of childless monarchs (*Life* I. 140). *Utar magnis exemplis*, he writes to the King after his condemnation; and cites precedents of the impeachment of great men similar to his own (*ib.* VII. 297.) In Shakespeare the same habit often shews itself: thus Suffolk finds some consolation, in being assassinated, by the reflection,—

Great men oft die by vile Bezonians.
A Roman sworder and banditto slave
Murder'd sweet Tully. Brutus' bastard hand
Stabb'd Julius Cæsar; savage islanders
Pompey the Great; and Suffolk dies by pirates.
2 *Hen. VI.*, IV. i. 134.

The general principle is stated, in curiously equivalent terms, by Bacon in his letter to Bishop Andrews (*Works*, VII. ii.), and by Shakespeare, in *Lear* III. vi. 102-110. See also *W. Tale* IV. iii. 25-31. This comparison is as profound as it is interesting.

The passage in Marlowe is accurately reflected in Bacon's Essay of *Friendship*. He speaks of the habit of princes to "raise some persons to be as it were companions and almost equals of themselves. . . . . And we see plainly that this hath been done not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned." Bacon does not give instances; he knew that he had already given them in Marlowe's *Edw. II.*

31. *He wears a lord's revenue on his back.* I. iv. 406.
She bears a duke's revenue on her back.
*2 Hen. VI.*, I. iii. 83. (D.F.V.).
Bearing their birth rights proudly on their backs. *John* II. i. 70.

As a later development of the same we have,—

The city woman bears
The cost of princes on unworthy shoulders. *A.Y.L.* III. vi. 75.

32. *Midas-like, he jets it in the Court.* I. iv. 407.

Thou gaudy gold,
Hard food for Midas, I will none of thee. *M.V.* III. ii. 101.
How he jets it under his advanced plumes.
*Tw. N.* II. v. 28 (T.).

33. *As if that Proteus, god of shapes, appeared.* I. iv. 410.
I can...change shapes with Proteus. *3 Hen. VI.*, III. ii. 192.

34. *He would have preferred me to the King.* II. i. 14.
Because my book preferred me to the King.
*2 Hen. VI.*, IV. vi. 77.

35. *Cast the scholar off.* II. i. 31.
Cast thy humble slough. *Tw. N.* II. v. 161.
Her vestal livery is but sick and green,
And none but fools do wear it ; cast it off.
*R. and J.* II. ii. 9.

36. *Making low legs to a nobleman.* II. i. 38.
You make a leg and Bolingbroke says Ay.
*Rich. II.* III. iii. 175. (T.)
He that cannot make a leg...were not for the Court.
*All's W.* II. ii. 10.
Let them court'sy with their left legs. *Tam. Sh.* IV. i. 95.
Well, here is my leg. *1 Hen. IV.* II. iv. 427.
I doubt whether their legs be worth the sums that are given for them *Timon* I. ii. 238.

37. *A lofty cedar-tree, fair flourishing,*
*On whose top branches kingly eagles perch.* II. ii. 16.
This yields the cedar to the axe's edge,
Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle.
*3 Hen. VI.* V. ii. 11. (D. F. T.).
I was born so high
Our aiery buildeth in the cedar's top. *Rich. III.* I. iii. 263.
Our princely Eagle. *Cymb.* V. v. 473—See *3 Hen. VI.* II. i. 91.

38. *The shepherd, nipt with biting winter's rage,*
*Frolics not more to see the painted spring*
*Than I do to behold your Majesty.* II. ii. 61.

Welcome hither as in the spring to the earth. *W. Tale.* V. i. 151.

And Lady-smocks, all silver white,
Do paint the meadows with delight. *L.L.L.* V. ii. 905.

*Painted* is a favourite epithet in Shakespeare. It is as Mr. Tancock points out, an adaptation of Latin phraseology,—*picta prata*, &c., and is one of the many indications that "Shakespeare" had been accustomed to write and think in Latin. We find the epithet *painted*, applied to flourish, rhetoric, pomp, devil, clay, queen, peace, imagery, gloss, hope, word, butterflies, &c.

39. *Do, cousin, and I'll bear thee company.*
II. ii. 119; also II. i. 74.

Will not your honours bear me company?
*1 Hen. VI.*, II. i. 53.

Also *2 Hen. VI.*, I. iii. 6; *Rich. III.*, II. iii. 47; *Hen. VIII.* I. i. 211; *Tw. G. V.*, IV. iii. 34.

40. *If he will not ransom him,*
*I'll thunder such a peal into his ears,*
*As never subject did unto a king.* II. ii. 125.

He said he would not ransom Mortimer.....
But I will find him when he lies asleep,
And in his ears I'll holloa "Mortimer."
*1 Hen. IV.*, I. iii. 219.

And spur thee on with full as many lies
As may be holloa'd in thy treacherous ear,
From sun to sun. *Rich. II.*, IV. i. 53.

Comparison between the voice and thunder is frequent. See *John* III. iv. 38; *Rich. III.*, I. iv. 173; *L. L. L.*, IV. ii. 119; Bacon's *Hen. VII.*, &c.

41. *The wild O'Neil, with swarms of Irish Kernes,*
*Lives uncontrolled within the English pale.* II. ii. 160.

The wild O'Neil, my lords, is up in arms,
With troops of Irish kernes, that uncontrolled
Doth plant themselves within the English pale.
*Contention* III. i. 282 (altered in *2 Hen. VI.*, III. i. 282). (D. F. T. V.)

42. *The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas.* II. ii. 164.

Stern Falconbridge commands the narrow seas.
*3 Hen. VI.*, I. i. 239 (D. F. T. V.).

A ship of rich lading wrecked on the narrow seas.
*Mer. V.*, III. i. 3.

43. *My swelling heart for very anger breaks.* II. ii. 196.
My heart for anger breaks; I cannot speak.
*True Trag.*, I. i. 55. Slightly altered in *3 Hen. VI.*, I. i. 60. (T.)
The broken rancour of your high-swol'n hates.
*Rich. III.*, II. ii. 117.
Compare Nos. 12 and 15.

44. *My Lord, dissemble with her, speak her fair.* II. ii. 164.
*I must entreat him, I must speak him fair.* I. iv. 183.
[Also I. i. 42; II. iv. 27; V. i. 91.]
My gracious lord, entreat him, speak him fair.
*2 Hen. VI.* IV. ii. 120, (F.).
I'll write unto them and entreat them fair.
*3 Hen. VI.*, I. i. 271.
You must speak Sir John Falstaff fair. *2 Hen. IV.*, V. ii. 33.
Do I entice you ? Do I speak you fair ?
*M. N. D.*, II. i. 199.

45. *Whose pining heart her inward sighs have blasted,*
*And body with continual mourning wasted.* II. iv. 23.
Let Benedick.....consume away in sighs, waste inwardly.
*M. Ado*, III. i. 77.
Blood-consuming sighs, blood-drinking, and blood-sucking sighs, are well-known Shakespearian phrases.
(See a similar passage, No. 83.)

46. *Madam, I cannot stay to answer you.* II. iv. 56.
I cannot stay to speak. *2 Hen. VI.*, II. iv. 86.
I cannot stay to hear these articles. *3 Hen. VI.*, I. i. 180.
I will not stay thy questions; let me go.
*M. N. D.*, II. i. 235 (F.).

47. *Yet, lusty lords, I have escaped your hands.* II. v. i.
*I wonder how he 'scaped?* II. iv. 21.
I wonder how the king escaped our hands ?
*3 Hen. VI.*, I. i. 1, (F. V.)

48. *When! Can you tell?* II. v. 57.
A slang expression, equivalent to "Don't you wish you may get it ?" It occurs in the 1616 edition of *Faustus*, Sc. ix.; and is found also in *Com. Er.* II. i. 53; and *1 Hen. IV.*, II. i. 43. See also *Tit. A.*, I. ii. 202.

49. *Treacherous Earl! Shall I not see the king?*
*The king of heaven, perhaps; no other king.* III. i. 15.

A similar profane retort occurs in *Rich. III.*, III., ii. 105 :—

The fitter for the king of heaven that hath him.

50. *As though your highness were a schoolboy still,*
*And must be awed and govern'd like a child.* III, i. 30.
I see no reason why a king of years
Should be to be protected like a child.
*2 Hen. VI.*, II. iii. 28, (F.).
Why should he then protect our sovereign,
He being of age to govern of himself. *ib.*, I. i. 165.

51. *Ah, boy! this towardness makes thy mother fear*
*Thou art not marked to many days on earth.* III. ii. 79.
So wise, so young, they say do never live long.....
Short summers lightly have a forward spring.
*Rich. III.*, III. i. 79; 94.

52. *Heaven's great beams*
*On Atlas' shoulders shall not be more safe.* III. ii. 76.
Thou art no Atlas for so great a weight. *3 Hen. VI.*, V. i. 36.
Never did Atlas such a burden wear,
As she in holding up the world oppressed.
*Bacon's Device.*
Your lordship, being the Atlas of the Common-wealth.
*Letter to Burghley.*

53. *And march to fire them from their starting holes.* III. ii. 127.
He that parts us shall bring a brand from heaven,
And fire us hence like foxes. *Lear*, V. iii. 22, (T.).
What starting-hole canst thou now find?
*1 Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 290.

For *starting-hole* see also *Bacon's Syl. Syl.*, 998.

54. *I will have heads and lives for him, as many*
*As I have manors, castles, towns, and towers.* III. ii. 132.
Plantagenet, of thee and of thy sons,
Thy kinsmen and thy friends, I'll have more lives,
Than drops of blood were in my father's veins.
*3 Hen. VI.*, I. i. 95.

55. *It is but temporal that thou canst inflict:*
*The worst is death.* III. iii. 57. (See also 88.)
The worst is worldly loss thou canst unfold.....
The worst is death, and death will have its day.
*Rich. II.*, III. ii. 94, 103.

56. *Better die to live,*
*Than live in infamy under such a king.* III iii. 58.
Here on my knee I beg mortality,
Rather than live preserved with infamy.
*1 Hen. VI.*, IV. v. 21.

57. *Can ragged, stony walls,*
*Immure thy virtue that aspired to heaven?* III. iii. 71.
That gallant spirit hath aspired the clouds,
Which too untimely here did scorn the earth.
*Rom. J.*, III. i. 122.
My ragged prison walls. *Rich. II.*, V. v. 21.
The ragged stones. *T. A.*, V. iii. 133.
This worm-eaten hold of ragged stone. *Hen. IV. Induct.* 35.
Rocks.....would not dash me with their ragged sides.
*2 Hen. VI.*, III. ii. 98.
(See also Nos. 75 and 101.)

58. *A brother? No, a butcher of thy friends.* IV. i. 4.
Let us be sacrificers, but not butchers, Cassius.
*Jul. C.*, II. i. 166.

59. *Stay time's advantage with your son.* IV. ii. 18.
The advantage of the time prompts me aloud.
*Troil.*, III. iii. 2.
Beyond him in the advantage of the time. *Cymb.* IV. i. 12.

In Bacon's letter to Villiers, July 5, 1616, he asks, "For if time give his majesty the advantage, what needeth precipitation to extreme measures?" *Life*, V. 379. In other words, "Advantage is a better soldier than rashness." *Hen. V.*, III. vi. 128. This almost technical use of the phrase *advantage*, as applied to time, is distinctly Baconian.

60. *Would cast up caps and clap their hands for joy.* IV. ii. 55.
The rabblement howled, and clapped their chopt hands, and threw up their sweaty night-caps. *Jul. Cæs.*, I. i. 243. See also *Coriol*, IV. vi. 130-133.

61. *To bid the English king a base.* IV. ii. 66.
To bid the wind a base he now prepares. *V. and A.*, 303.
Indeed I bid the base for Proteus. *Tw. G. V.*, I, ii. 97. (T.).

62. *What now remains?* IV. iii. 17.
[Also in *Rich. II.*, IV. i. 222; *3 Hen. VI.*, IV. iii. 60, vii. 7.]

63. *Galop apace, bright Phœbus, through the sky,*
*And dusky night, in rusty iron car,*
*Between you both, shorten the time, I pray*
*That I may see the most desired day.* IV. iii. 44.

It is generally agreed that this passage (1598) suggested the celebrated passage in *Romeo and J.* (1597), III., ii. 1-4 ! (D. T.).

64. *Let us.....in this bed of honour die with fame.* IV. v. 7.
Triumphs over chance in honour's bed. *T.A.*, I. i. 178.
They died in honour's lofty bed. *ib.*, III. i. 11.

65. *Shape we our course to Ireland, there to breathe.* IV. v. 3.
Thus Kent, O princes, bids you all adieu,
He'll shape his old course in a country new.
*Lear*, I. i. 190.

66. *Away! we are pursued.* IV. v. 9.
Away! for death doth hold us in pursuit.
*3 Hen. VI.*, II. v. 127.

67. *Make trial now of that philosophy*
*That in the famous nursery of arts*
*Thou sucked'st from Plato and Aristotle.* IV. vi. 17.
Fair Padua, nursery of arts.....
To suck the sweets of sweet philosophy.
*Tam. Sh.*, I. i. 1-40.
Of your philosophy you make no use
If you give place to accidental evils. *Jul. Cæs.*, IV. iii. 145.
Even by the rule of that philosophy, &c. *ib.*, V. i. 101.

Bacon speaks of the Universities as "those *nurseries* and gardens of learning."—*Life*, V. 143.

68. *Father, this life contemplative is heaven.* IV. vi. 20.
Our court shall be a little Academe
Still and contemplative in living art. *L.L.L.*, I. i. 13.

69. *With awkward winds and sore tempests driven.* IV. vi. 34.
Twice by awkward winds.....drove back.
*2 Hen. VI.*, III. ii. 83.
We see the wind set sore upon our sails. *Rich. II.*, II. iv. 265.
This sore night (*i.e.*, stormy). *Macb.*, II. iv. 3.

70. *We shall see them shorter by the heads.* IV. vi. 93.

The time hath been,
Would you have been so brief with him, he would
Have been as brief with you, to shorten
For taking so the head, your whole head's length.
*Rich. II.*, III. iii. 10. (T.).

71. *Hence, feigned weeds! unfeigned are my woes!*
*(Throwing off his disguise).* IV. vi. 96.

Every word here is equally Shakespearian and Baconian: so also is the antithesis. The dramatic situation recalls that in *Lear*, when the king throws off his garments, exclaiming, "Off! Off! ye lendings! Come, unbutton here."—*Lear*, III. iv. 113.

72. *Cease to lament.* V. i. 1; also II. iv. 29.
Cease to lament. *Two G. V.*, III. i. 241.

73. *Imagine Killingworth Castle were your court,*
*And that you lay for pleasure here a space,*
*Not of compulsion or necessity.* V. i. 2.

The same idea, with large and most poetic amplification, is in *Rich. II.*, I. iii. 262-303, where Bolingbroke, being banished, is urged by Gaunt to imagine that his banishment is only a "travel that thou takest for pleasure,"—

Look! what thy soul holds dear, imagine it
To lie that way thou goest, not whence thou comest.

74. *The forest deer, being struck,*
*Runs to an herb that closeth up the wound.* V. i. 9.

Mr. Tancock (Clarendon edition) asks, "Is it likely that Marlowe had in mind Virgil?"—*Æneid*, XII. 412-415:—

Dictamnum genetrix Cretœa carpit ab Ida
Puberibus caulem foliis, et flore comantem
Purpureo: non illa feris incognita capris
Gramina, cum tergo volucres hæsere sagittæ."

The reply is,—Certainly; this passage *was* in the poet's mind. Bacon quotes the passage to illustrate the same idea, and the poetic fancy in Marlowe's verse finds scientific expression in Bacon's prose.—See *Adv. of L.*, II. xiii. 2 (p. 150, Clar.); *De Aug.*, V. ii.

75. *But when the imperial lion's flesh is gored,*
*He rends and tears it with his wrathful paw,*
*And, highly scorning that the lowly earth*
*Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air.* V. i. 11.

*Aspiring Lancaster*, I. i. 92.

What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster
Sink to the ground? I thought it would have mounted.
*3 Hen. VI.*, V. vi. 61. (D. F. V.).

The lion, dying, thrusteth forth his paw,
And wounds the earth, if nothing else, with rage
To be o'erpowered. *Rich. II.*, V. 1. 29.

The same idea, seen also in No. 57, namely, mounting to the clouds, and scorning the lower levels left behind,—is seen in another guise, in the following passage :—

Lowliness is young ambition's ladder,
Whereto the climber-upwards turns his face ;
But when he once attains the upmost round
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
By which he did ascend. *Jul. C.*, II. i. 22.

76. *Whose dauntless mind.* V. i. 15.
Thy dauntless mind. *3 Hen. VI.*, III. iii. 16.

77. *Thus hath pent and mewed me in a prison.* V. i. 18.

*Pent* occurs in *Coriol.*; excepting this, *pent* and *mewed* are words which are only found, in this sense, in the early historical plays, and in those written about the same period—*i.e.*, *Tam. Sh.*; *Rom. Jul.*, *M.N.D.*: *Ex. gr.*, "In shady cloister mewed": "being pent from liberty."

78. *(a) I am lodged within this cave of care,*
*(b) Where sorrow at my elbow still attends,*
*(c) To company my heart with sad laments.* V. i. 32.
(*a*) Where care lodges. *Rom. Jul.*, II. iii. 36.

*Promus note*, 1203: "Lodged next" (one of a Group of *R. and J.* notes).

(*b*) Conscience is.....ever at my elbow. *Rich. III.*, I. iv. 150
The fiend is at mine elbow. *Mer. V.*, II. ii. 3.

(*c*) For *company*, as a verb, see *Cymb.*, V. v. 408.

79. *My heart.....bleeds within me for this sad exchange.* V. i. 35.
The blood weeps from my heart when I do shape, &c.
*2 Hen. IV.*, IV. iv. 58.
My heart bleeds inwardly that my father is so sick.
*ib.*, II. ii. 51.
I bleed inwardly for my lord. *Timon*, I. ii. 211.

Bleeding inwards and shut vapours strangle soonest, and oppress most. *Bacon's Hen. VII.*, Op. VI. 153.

80. *For he's a lamb, encompassed by wolves.* V. i. 41.

Such safety finds
The trembling lamb environed by wolves.
*3 Hen. VI.*, I. i. 242. (V.)

81. *But if proud Mortimer do wear this crown,*
*Heaven turn it to a blaze of quenchless fire.* V. i. 43.

O would to God that the inclusive verge
Of golden metal that must round my brow
Were red hot steel, to sear me to the brain.
*Rich. III.*, IV. i. 59.

For *quenchless*, see 3 *Hen. VI.*, I. iv. 28; *Lucrece*, 1554.

82. *Inhuman creatures, nursed with tiger's milk!* V. i. 71.

There is no more mercy in him than there is milk in a male tiger. *Coriol.*, V. iv. 29.

83. *Bear this to the queen,*
*Wet with my tears, and dried again with sighs:* (Gives a
*If with the sight thereof she be not moved,* [handkerchief.)
*Return it back and dip it in my blood.* V. i. 117.

She with her tears
Doth quench the maiden burning of his cheeks,
Then with her windy sighs, and golden hairs,
To fan and blow them dry again she seeks. *Ven. A.*, 49.
Sighs dry her cheeks, tears make them wet again. *ib.*, 966.
Sorrow's wind and rain. *A Lover's Lament.*

Gerald Massey, (*Sonnets*, pp. 465-468), comments on the following lines from *England's Helicon*, which he claims for Shakespeare :—

With windy sighs disperse them in the skies,
Or with thy tears dissolve them into rain.

The same use of a blood-stained napkin is in 3 *Hen. VI.*, II. i. 60. (see also No. 45).

84. *And thus most humbly do we take our leave.* V. i. 124.
*Here humbly of your grace we take our leave.* IV. vi. 77.
And thus most humbly I do take my leave.
*3 Hen. VI.*, I. ii. 61, F.
And so, I take my leave. *3 Hen. VI.*, IV. viii. 28.
And so, most joyfully, we take our leave.
*Rich. III.*, III. vii. 244.

85. *To wretched men, death is felicity.* V. i. 127.

The word *felicity* occurs only twice in Shakespeare, and, in one of these cases, it is applied to death, as a release from trouble:—

Absent thee from *felicity* awhile,
And in this harsh world, draw thy breath in pain.
*Ham.*, V. ii. 358.

86. *Well may I rent his name that rends my heart.*
(*Tears the paper*). V. i. 140.

"This passion, shewn in the unavailing tearing of the writ, may be compared with passion of Rich. II., as he dashes the looking glass to pieces. *Cf. Rich. II.*, IV. i. 228." (*Tancock.*).

87. *Even so betide my soul as I use him.* V. i. 148.

And so betide to me
As well I tender you and all of your's. *Rich. III.*, II. iv. 71.

88. *Of this I am assured*
*That death ends all, and I can die but once.* V. i. 153.
The valiant never taste of death but once.....
Death, a necessary evil,
Will come when it will come. *Jul. Cæs.*, II. ii. 32-37.
[See also No. 55.] (T.)

89. *For now we hold an old wolf by the ears,* V. ii. 7.
*More safety there is in a tiger's jaws,*
*Than his embracements.* V. i. 116.

See *Promus note* 829—"To hold a wolf by the ears."

In Shakespeare, as in Marlowe, this note suggests variations on the original metaphor: the exact counterpart of Bacon's memorandum is only in Marlowe.

France, thou may'st hold a serpent by the tongue,
A chafed lion, by the mortal paw,
A fasting lion, safer by the tooth
Than keep in peace that hand which thou dost hold.
*John*, III. iii. 258.

90. *No more but so.* V. ii. 33.
No more but so. *Ham.*, I. iii. 10.

91. *Art thou so resolute as thou wast?*
*What else, my lord? and far more resolute.* V. iv. 23.
(Also IV. vi. 117; V. v. 25 and 32.)

*What else?* is a turn of expression noted in the *Promus*, and so registered for use: see Nos. 307; 1400. It has the special meaning

of—"Of course!" or "Why certainly!" It is frequent in Shakespeare, as in *2* and *3 Hen. VI.*; *Tam. Sh.*; *Pericles*; *Coriol*; *Ant. Cl.*, &c. In *Tw. N.*, I. iii. 146, it is expanded into, "What shall we do else?"

92. *I learned in Naples how to poison flowers.....*
*Or whilst one is asleep, to take a quill*
*And blow a little powder in his ears.* V. iv. 31.

This method of poisoning reminds one of the murder of the elder Hamlet. Bacon characteristically associates poisoning with Italy. Thus in his charge against Wentworth: "It is an offence that I may truly say of it, *non est nostri generis, nec sanguinis.* It is, thanks be to God, rare in this island of Brittany.....You may find it in Rome and Italy. There is a religion for it," *Life*, V. 215. In *Cymbeline*, we find "drug-damned Italy;" and "false Italian, (as poison-tongued)."

93. *Feared am I more than loved; let me be feared.* V. iv. 51.
*Would'st thou be loved and feared?* I. i. 168.
She shall be loved and feared. *Hen. VIII.*, V. i. 31.
That noble honoured lord is feared and loved.
*W. T.*, V. i. 158.
Never was monarch better feared and loved than is your majesty. *Hen. V.*, II. ii. 25.

94. *Whose looks were as a breeching to a boy.* V. iv. 54.
I am no breeching scholar in the schools. *Tam. Sh.*, III. i. 18.
None do you like but an effeminate prince
Whom, like a school-boy, you may overawe.
*1 Hen. VI.*, I. i. 35.

95. *The Queen and Mortimer*
*Shall rule the realm, the King; and none rules us.* V. iv. 64.
Margaret shall now be queen, and rule the king;
But I will rule both her, the king and realm.
*1 Hen. VI.*, V. v. 107. (F. V.)

96. *Who's there? What light is that? Wherefore com'st thou?*
V. v. 41.
But wherefore dost thou come? Is't for my life.
*3 Hen. VI.*, V. vi. 29. (V.)
Who sent you hither? Wherefore do you come?
*Rich. III*, I. iv. 176.

The murder scenes in *3 Hen. VI.* and *Rich. III.* have precisely similar expressions to those in *Edw. II.*

97. *Tell Isabel the queen, I looked not thus,*
*When for her sake I ran at tilt in France,*
*And there unhorsed the duke of Cleremont.* V. v. 65.
I tell thee, Pole, when thou did'st run at tilt,
And stol'st away our ladies' hearts in France,
I thought king Henry had been like to thee.
*Contention*, I. iii.; almost reproduced in *2 Hen. VI.*, I. iii. 53.
(D. F. T. V.)

98. *Is't done, Matrevis, and the murderer dead?*
*Ay, my good lord; I would it were undone.* V. vi. 1.

This takes suggestion from two *Promus* notes, "Things done, cannot be undone, (*Factum infectum fieri non potest*)," No. 951; and "*Odere reges dicta quæ dici jubent*," No. 367. The dramatic situation in the text, repentance after execution, is curiously frequent in Shakespeare, see instances in *John*, IV. ii. 203-242; *Rich.* II., V. vi. 30-52; *Rich.* III., I. iv. 270, 283-285; *Meas. M.*, II. ii. 10; *Macb.* III. ii. 12; *Pericles*, IV. iii. 1-20.

99. *As for myself I stand as Jove's huge tree,*
*And others are but shrubs compared to me.* V. vi. 10.
Whose top-branch over-peered Jove's spreading tree,
And kept low shrubs from winter's powerful wind.
*3 Hen. VI.* vii. 14.

Jove's tree is also referred to in *As Y. L.* III. ii. 249. (T).

100. *Base Fortune; now I see that in thy wheel*
*There is a point, to which when men aspire*
*They tumble headlong down.* V. vi. 57.

For similar references to the Wheel of Fortune see *Hen. V.*, III. vi. 27-40; *Ham.* III., iii. 17-23. For the sentiment, apart from the metaphor, see Essay *of Great Place*, first paragraph; and its striking parallels in *John* III. iv. 137-8; *Rich.* III. I. iii. 259; *Troilus* III. iii. 75-87; *Cymb.* III. iii. 45-55. In the *Cymbeline* passage, written in later life, Bacon seems to draw upon his own experience; but during the whole of his life the sentiment was often suggested.

101. *Mortimer (a) scorns the world, and (b), as a traveller,*
*Goes to discover countries yet unknown.* V. vi. 62.

(*a*). That gallant spirit hath aspired the clouds
Which too untimely here did scorn the earth,
*R. & J.* III. i. 122.

[See also No. 57.]

(*b*) The undiscovered country, from whose bourne
No traveller returns. *Ham.* III., i. 79.

102 *Too long have I lived*
*Whenas my son thinks to abridge my days.* V. vi. 81.

*Which in a moment will abridge his life. ib.* i. 41.

Thy staying will abridge thy life. *Tw. G. V.* III. i. 245.

Death rock me asleep; abridge my doleful days.
*2. Hen. IV.*, II. iv. 211.

103. *These tears, distilling from mine eyes.* V. vi. 99.
O Earth, I will befriend thee with more rain
That shall distil from these two ancient urns [*i.e.* his eyes.]
*T.A.* III. i. 14.

Tears distilled by moans. *R. & J.* V. iii. 15.

Besides these parallel passages there are numerous cases in which the peculiar use of single words or short terms of expression brings to mind analogous use of language in Shakespeare. The only critic who has given any special attention to these single words and small phrases is Mr. Tancock, in the Clarendon Edition. What little use Mr. Fleay makes of them I have already indicated. I would gladly give all these words and phrases, with detailed references to the passages, and to the corresponding words in Shakespeare; but space limitations forbid. I must be content with a simple enumeration, followed by a few supplementary comments. The words are:—

*Adamant; Argues*; *Avouch; Bandy*; *It boots not; Brainsick*; *Braved; Brown-bills; Buckler*; *Canker; Caucasus*; *Centre; Civil; Cockerel; Colour*; *Controlment; Crownet; Cullions; Curstly*; *Dash; Drift; Decline*; *Elysium*; *Empale; Empery; Entertain*; *Exequies; Exigents*; *Extremes; Foreslow; Garish; Gather head; This gear*; *Gentle heavens; Gored; Greekish*; *Hatch; Haught*; *Have at; Hearten; A hell of grief*; *High disgrace; Incense; Infortunate*; *Jack; Jesses; Jets it; Larded with; Leander; Level at*; *Long of; Love-sick*; *Magnanimity; Minion; Mort-dieu; Mounting; Pass not*; *Pay them home; Peevish*; *Plain*; *Prate, Preachment*; *Purge the realm; Reduce; Repeal; What resteth?; Runagates; Sophister; Sort of; Sort out; Speed; Stir; Stomach; Store of; Tender; Timeless; Totter'd; Toys; Tully; Vail; Yearns.*

Bacon uses many of these words. I may refer to the following passages as specimens :—

*Bandy.* See Promus note 1421, and references.

A mutinous *brain-sick* soldier. *Life I.* 378.

*Colour, i.e.*, plausible show of reason : a sense which has acquired currency from Bacon's "*Colours* of Good and Evil."

No coldness in *foreslowing*, but wisdom in choosing his time. *Hen. VII.* Op. vi. 179.

In her chamber the conspiracy had been *hatched. Ib.* p. 46.

*Imfortunate. Essays* 4 and 40.

If the king did no greater matters, it was *long of* himself. *Hen. VII.* Op. vi. 244.

*Pay home* resembles Bacon's,—he could *dissemble home. Ib.* 71.

Perkin would prove but a *runagate. Ib.* 172.

Orators and *Sophisters. Adv. of L.* II. xiv. 6.

I will add the following notes on some other peculiarities in the phraseology of *Edw. II.*

1. We find a number of *over* words—*over-base, over-bear, over-daring, over-peered, over-ruled, over-stretched, over-strong. over-watched, over-woo.* Shakespeare is very fond of these "over" adjectives and verbs, and the use of them is very characteristic. There are about 129 different compounds of this type, made by *over* or *o'er*. Five out of the nine used in *Edw. II.* are also in Shakespeare, viz., over-bear, -daring, -peered, -ruled, -watched.

2. Marlowe's use of the word strange is remarkable,—*If he be strange, and not regard my words.* Strange here means distant, unfriendly, what we should call *stand-offish.* So 2 *Hen. VI.* III. i. 5; *Troilus* III. iii. 51, "a form of strangeness." There is another use of the word, as in *Is it not strange*, I. ii. 55, in which the word has no unusual sense, but the phrase is so frequent, both in B. and Sh. as to be noteworthy as a perpetual trick of speech. In the *Promus* we find this anticipated by the note *I find that strange*, No. 302, and this occurs, with slight variations, in many well-known passages in *Ham., Jul. C., Troilus, Temp.*, &c. It is found in Essays 10, 18, 22, 27, 44, 56; also in the *Adv.*, and elsewhere. It is an expression which would pass unnoticed but for the singular frequency of its recurrence, and its insertion in the *Promus.*

3. The word *suck* (see parallel 67) belongs to a class of words which are promoted, so to speak, from the ranks, and ennobled for poetic service. In Shakespeare such words are boil, bulk, crack, fust,

jump, prate, shop, spit, suck, top, tub, wink, &c. Bacon has the same habit : he also uses jump, suck, shop, top. A crowd of specimens may be picked out by looking over the terminology of his tables of instances, in *Nov. Org.* II. where poetry and science are curiously blended. *Suck* is a very characteristic specimen. Shakespeare has suck melancholy, suck the sweets of philosophy, suck wisdom, suck the honey of music vows, suck the sense of fear. Bacon has suck suspicion, suck experience, &c. *Ex. gr.* "If a man be thought secret it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open." See Essays *Of Dissimulation*, *Of Travel*, Hen. VII.

4. Marlowe has *thrice welcome*, *treble-blest*. Shakespeare is very partial to this method of augmenting the import of his words. He has *thrice* fair, crowned, famed, gentle, noble ; *thrice double* ass ; *twice treble* shame ; *double and treble* admonition. Bacon had the same habit, *ex. gr.*, Thrice loving friend, *Life*, VII. 280. The *Promus* has a Note, 197a, *Bis ac ter pulchra.*

Besides these resemblances in thought and language, there are other points of similarity in style, or tricks of speech which deserve notice.

1. The frequent use of echoing retort or repartee. *Ex.gr.*:

*For he'll complain unto the see of Rome.*

*Repartee. Let him complain unto the see of hell.* I. i. 190.

*Is this the duty that you owe your king ?*

*Rep* : *We know our duty ; let him know his peers.* I. iv. 22.

*You that be noble-born should pity him.*

*Rep.*: *You that are princely-born should cast him off.* *ib.* 80.

See also I. iv. 20; 160; II. ii. 85; 93; V. iv. 14; 87; 89; vi. 76.

Repartees formed on this model are frequent in Shakespeare. *Ex.gr.*:

Mistrust of my success hath done this deed.

*Rep* : Mistrust of good success hath done this deed.

*Jul. Cæs.* V. i. 65.

Mistake not, uncle, farther than you should.

*Rep.* : Take not, good cousin, farther than you should

Lest you mistake. *Rich II.* III. iii. 15.

There is a large collection of these in *Rich.* II. I. ii.

Typical specimens of this are given rather plentifully in the *Promus*, shewing that Bacon had made a careful study of this rhetorical and dramatic artifice ; which however is not found in his acknowledged works. *Ex. gr.*:

A merry world when such fellows must correct.

*Rep.*: A merry world when the simplest must correct. No. 1384.

It is not the first untruth I have heard reported.

*Rep.*: It is not the first truth I have heard denied. No. 1401.

See also Nos. 194, 199, 200, 201, 204-9, &c.

2. Frequent recurrence of the vivid, rhetorical use of *this*, *these*; the speaker referring to something of his own, generally his bodily organs of expression, action, or emotion. *Ex. gr.:*

*Witness this heart that sighing for thee breaks.* I. iv. 165.

*These tears that drizzle from mine eyes.* II. iv. 18.

Also *These hands; these eyes*; *this breast*; *these eyelids, this life*, &c.; and some of these occur several times.

The same habit is observable in Shakespeare: *Ex. gr.:*

This tongue hath parleyed unto foreign kings . . .
These cheeks are pale for watching for your good . . .
These hands are free from guiltless blood-shedding,
This breast from harbouring foul, deceitful thoughts.

*2 Hen VI.* IV. vii.

3. The habit of beginning a scene by an abrupt question. Thus,—*O tell me Spencer where is Gaveston?* II. iv. Similarly in II. i.; iv.; III. ii; V. vi. Five instances in this play.

So in Shakespeare we have:—

Can no man tell me of my unthrifty son? *Rich. II.* V. iii. i.

Wilt thou be gone? It is not yet near day. *Rom. J.* III. v. i.

This habit is chiefly characteristic of the early plays, *Rich. II.* and *III.*, I *& 2 & 3 Hen. VI.*, but it is also frequent in other plays.

4. Either a new scene, or an entering speaker in a new section—and as the early quartos are not always divided into acts and scenes, these new sections might be intended for new scenes—begins with some expression of wonder.

*I wonder how he 'scaped.* II. iv. 30.

*The wind is good. I wonder why he stays.* II. ii. 1.

*Gurney, I wonder the king dies not.* V. v. i.

The first of these is almost identical with *3 Hen. VI.*, I. i.; II. i. It is slightly varied in:—

I muse my lord of Gloucester is not come.

*2 Hen. VI.* III. i. 1.

Also in *M.N.D.* III. ii. 1: I wonder if Titania be awaked.

5. There is another curious trick of beginning a scene (or a section of a scene) by a reference to the winds.

*The wind is good; I wonder why he stays.* II. ii.
*Fair blows the wind for France; blow gentle gale.* IV. i.
*Now lords, our loving friends and countrymen,*
*Welcome to England all with prosperous winds.* IV. iv.

In Shakespeare we meet with similar cases :—

My necessaries are embarked: farewell,
And, sister, as the winds give benefit, &c. *Ham.* I. iii.
Now sits the wind fair, and we will aboard. *Hen. V.* II. ii. 12.
The wind sits fair for news to go to Ireland.
*Rich II.* II. ii. 123.

6. The dramatic situation in *Edward II.* in many cases anticipates similar scenes in Shakespeare. Many of these have been already noticed in the parallel passages. See Nos. 2, 4, 10, 30, 40, 63, 71, 73, 83, 86, 92, 96, 97, 98. The following may be added. It will be seen that there are at least 20 passages in *Edw. II.* anticipating dramatic situations to be found in Shakespeare.

*a*. "The whole story of the elder Mortimer being taken prisoner and the king's refusal to ransom him, is very like the story of Sir Edmund Mortimer in Wales, in the reign of Hen. IV. who refused to ransom him, or allow of his ransom" *(Tancock)*. Not only is the situation the same, but the indignation of Young Mortimer in *Edw. II.*, and of Hotspur in *1 Hen. IV.*, is expressed in almost identical and those very whimsical terms. See parallel 40.

*b*. The Queen, in *Edw. II.* I. iv. 160, complains that Gaveston has "robbed her of her lord"; so Bolingbroke in *Rich. II.* complains of Bushey and Green that they had made a divorce between the Queen and King. *Rich. II.* III. i. 111. (T).

*c*. The reproaches for misrule uttered in a sort of antiphonal style by Lancaster and the younger Mortimer (II. ii. 153-195,) are much like the reproaches uttered in succession, in the same antiphonal style, by Suffolk, Beaufort, &c. against Duke Humphrey, in *2 Hen. VI.* I. iii. 127-140. A similar string of accusations is similarly recited in *Rich. II.* II. i. 241-261.

*d*. In IV. v. Kent speaks of the fallen king as "Edward" and is rebuked by the young prince for omitting the royal title.

So in *Rich. II.* III. i. 10, York administers a similar rebuke to

Northumberland for calling the fallen monarch simply "Richard." See parallel 10, in which the passage in *Rich.* II. finds another use.

*e.* The resemblances between *Edw. II.* V. v. 41, and the murder scenes in *3 Hen. VI.* and *Rich. III.*, and the similar exclamations of apprehension, are referred to in No. 96. Mr. Tancock refers to other points of comparison which I need not specify.

*f.* In V. iv. and elsewhere the younger Mortimer has many of the characteristics of Rich. III. The most curious is that in both cases a hypocritical profession of reluctance to take the protectorate, or the crown, is pictured in precisely similar outlines. Thus:

> They thrust upon me the protectorship,
> And sue to me for that that I desire.
> While, at the Council-table, grave enough,
> And not unlike a bashful puritan;
> First I complain of imbecility,
> Saying it is *onus quam gravissimum*;
> Till, being interrupted by my friends,
> *Suscepi* that *provinciam*, as they term it;
> And, to conclude, I am protector now. V. iv, 55-63.

This recalls most forcibly the scene in which Richard is found between two Bishops, when the Mayor and Citizens seek to overcome his affected resistance to accept the dignity which they "thrust upon" him. The lines quoted evidently give the first sketch, or crude outline, of the scene so elaborately worked out in *Rich. III.* III. vii. The "bashful puritan" becomes the protector at his devotions. The "imbecility" reappears as fear lest the citizens have come to "reprehend his ignorance," and in unctuous professions of poverty of spirit, and of defects which he wishes to hide. The friend who interrupts is Buckingham, the spokesman of the citizens, and at the same time Richard's accomplice in the solemn mockery. The *onus quam gravissimum* becomes "the golden yoke of Sovereignty." The repeated entreaties, reinforced by threats, break down resistance, till "*Suscepi* that *provinciam*" finds expression in,—

> I am not made of stone,
> But penetrable to your kind entreats,
> Albeit against my conscience and my soul;—

and at last he coyly consents to be crowned.

I have now given such a collection of similarities between *Marlowe's*

*Edw. II.*, and the Shakespeare plays and poems, as suffice, in my view, to prove identity of authorship. I have by no means exhausted the list; any careful investigator may find others which I have omitted. I have given those which seem to me unequivocal, and left out many which may be real resemblances, but which I prefer to omit rather than expose them as weak points to hostile criticism. The conclusion appears to be—that if we had to decide upon the authorship of *Edw. II.* from internal evidence alone, no one would hesitate for a moment to assign it to Shakespeare. The chief reason for admitting Marlowe is that his name appears on the title pages of the early quartos: a reason strong, if taken alone, but quite capable of being overruled if all the circumstances of the case are duly estimated. I may even claim that the appearance of another name on a composition so evidently Shakespearian, and on other works, as for instance the 1616 Edition of Faustus, in which Christopher Marlowe's authorship is historically impossible, casts a shade of suspicion on all the other Shakespearian title pages, and sets speculation as to authorship absolutely free.

Doubtless a large proportion of these similarities is derived from the *Hen. VI.* plays, which some critics regard as non-Shakespearian. But they are not confined to these plays—the aggregate of these is not even a majority of the parallels. If all the similarities derived from *1, 2 and 3 Hen. VI.* were left out, I hardly think the case would be materially weakened. The case is, I believe, proved without them, and we may use these parallels in a sort of alternative way to prove identity of authorship for the disputed play, whichever it may be. Only about one-fifth of the entire collection is from these three plays, and of these only one in seven is from *1 Hen. VI.*; the rest are from the 2nd and 3rd parts: *i.e.*, the passages taken from *1 Hen. VI.* are about one-third the number of those taken from either 2nd or 3rd; the numbers may be roughly taken as 12, 36 and 36. Looking at the whole collection, it will be found that the number taken from *1 Hen. VI.* is about half the number taken from either *Rich. II.* or *Rich. III.*, and about the same as those from *Tw. G. V.*; *Cymb.*; *Troilus*; *Tit. A.*; *Rom. J.*; and *Hamlet.* Next to these in rank come *John*; *1 and 2 Hen. IV.*; *Hen. V.*; *L. L. L.*; *Tam. Sh.*; *Jul. C.*, and *Lear.* The rest of the resemblances are pretty equally distributed among the other plays and poems, the lowest rank being assigned to *Mer. W.*, *Timon*, *Oth.*, and the *Sonnets.*

It is not surprising that the preponderance of evidence should be

drawn from the Historical plays, and, out of these, from those that were written first. There is a marked difference between Shakespeare's early, middle and latest styles, and of course *Edw. II.* belongs to the earliest—to the period when those plays were written which, because they possess the characteristics of the early, *i.e.*, the Marlowe period, have been attributed to Marlowe. And it is remarkable that of the three parts of *Hen. VI.*, the resemblances are most numerous in those which are most characteristically Shakespearian, and less numerous in the first and feeblest member of the Group. It seems to me, on reviewing the whole case, that *Edw. II.* is far more Shakespearian than *1 Hen. VI.*, and the evidence for Shakespeare's authorship much stronger, apart from its inclusion in the 1623 Folio.

If one of the Marlowe plays can be satisfactorily proved to be Shakespearian, all may be equally so. Consequently, all the reasoning that has been expended on the proof that certain plays in the Folio are Marlowe's is disposed of, with the result of handing over these proofs and arguments to the support of our case. To my mind the elaborate dissection of *2 and 3 Hen. VI.*, in which about one-third part of the whole is given to Marlowe, and the rest to Shakspere—with a few pickings left for Peele, Nash, Greene, and others—confutes itself. It is antecedently most unlikely that the Shakespearian poet would condescend to dress up old plays and publish them as his own—or to run in harness with a miscellaneous company of hack writers, or dramatists of immensely inferior rank. The existence of a variety of styles in such a master of dramatic and literary art is surely not surprising, and the Marlowe style is so decidedly present in Shakespeare that it is just as logical to use its evidence for purposes of inclusion as for exclusion, *i.e.*, to prove that the poet of Shakespeare is the poet of Marlowe, as that Marlowe wrote Shakespeare. And if Mr. Fleay's criterion of identical authorship may be accepted as sufficient to identify the author of *Edw. II.* with that of *Hen. VI.*, evidently the much larger extension of the same argument, which I have now presented, reverses the direction of the logical current, and brings *Edw. II.* into the Shakespeare enclosure, instead of thrusting *Hen. VI.* outside.

I have said that I do not attach much importance for argumentative purposes to the sipping, tasting, lip-smacking process which is so freely used in the valuation of these early plays. It might appear about as reasonable to study anatomy by the taste, as to dissect a play by the use simply of literary sensation or sentiment. However

this may be, I can in this case very confidently appeal to what, in humble imitation of Bacon, I may call the logic of the palate, as a matter of incommunicable individual perception. I would challenge anyone who has made Shakespeare a study and a companion, who knows his voice, recognises his features, feels his presence—to listen to the tones, look at the features, weigh the pressure of the touch—as these indescribable personal characteristics manifest themselves in *Edw. II.*, and to say whether here also we have not the tones, the features, the hand-pressure, the personal sphere of Shakespeare himself.

At the same time it appears to me that in some respects this drama has been overpraised, and its Shakespearian eminence overstated. It is said that *Edw. II.* is equal or even superior to *Rich. II.*, which it most resembles, and superior in merit to the general level of the *Hen. VI.* plays. Now, while I am willing to admit that, in general scenic effect, in the management of dialogue, in discrimination of character, in the use of blank verse, it may hold its own with any of the historical plays, it seems to me decidedly inferior to all of them (except perhaps *1 Hen. VI.*), in richness of imagination, in splendour of eloquence, in the freedom and *abandon* of inexhaustible mental and imaginative wealth, and in general wisdom and sagacity as an embodiment of social, political and psychologic philosophy. There are flashes of all these qualities; but there are no passages in which they are so strong, so sustained, so triumphant, as in the later historic plays. For example, there is nothing in *Edw. II.* comparable to the poetic and patriotic laments of York and Gaunt over the disgraces brought upon their country by the levity and weakness of the king (*Rich. II.*, II. i. 138). The judgment of Charles Lamb, that "the death scene of Marlowe's king moves pity and terror beyond any scene, ancient or modern, with which I am acquainted," is quoted by all the critics; and it is on the whole a just and a discerning criticism. Yet, to my mind, there is nothing in *Edw. II.* quite so thrilling in its pathetic dignity as the mighty speech in which Richard II. pronounces his own abdication, containng such lines as these:—

> With mine own tears I wash away my balm;
> With mine own hands I give away my crown;
> With mine own tongue deny my sacred state;
> With mine own breath release all duteous oaths;
> All pomp and majesty, I do forswear, &c. &c.

And, in nearly every scene of *Rich. II.*, there are passages of exuberant poetic meditation not to be matched in *Edw. II.* There is a lavish eloquence in a crowd of speeches in *Rich. II.* only faintly adumbrated in *Edw. II.*, speeches which one may almost pick out at random by selecting those which contain over twenty or thirty lines. There are not many such speeches in *Edw. II.* In the whole play there are only eight speeches of more than twenty lines in length, and only two of 33 lines each, and these two follow one another, and with a shorter intermediate speech may be taken as one of 75 lines (v. i. 5-83). If we add together all the speeches through the whole play, which contain ten lines or more, they only amount to just under 500 lines, whilst the 3rd Act of *Rich. II.*, which is equal to about a quarter of *Edw. II.* (*i.e.*, 675 lines, against 2,606), alone contains 342 such lines. As a test, this is doubtless too mechanical to be in itself sufficient ; but it really does put in visible and numerical shape the fact that *Edw. II.* lacks the luxuriance of imaginative musing that belongs so abundantly to *Rich. II.* Its dialogue is vivid and interesting, without being rhetorical or philosophical, the speeches are short, there is little monologue, and scarcely any soliloquy ; perhaps it is on this account better adapted to scenic representation than *Rich. II.*, which would require much more curtailment before it could be presented on the boards. The generous affluence that seems as though it could not restrain itself, but must pour forth, in copious discourse, its limitless treasures of thought and fancy and imagery does not exist in *Edw. II.* to the same extent as in nearly all the subsequent Shakespearian plays and poems. The musing soliloquy of Richard in Pomfret Castle (V. v. 1-65) is twice as long as the longest speech in *Edw. II.* And yet, in admitting this, I do not feel that any shadow of doubt is cast upon its genuine Shakespearian origin. It is the early production of a strong but untutored mind, full of large promise; but the master is not yet conscious of his powers. The play is tentative, sketchy, fragmentary. No one but the poet of *Rich. II.* could have written it ; but such a poet, in collecting his works, would be likely to cast it aside after the mightier achievements of riper years had made its deficiencies too conspicuous. Here the poet is fettered ; he has not quite escaped from the sphere of *Tamburlaine* and the *Jew of Malta* ; he is evidently trying to abandon their crudities, and emancipate himself from their bombast and extravagance, and the effort to do so makes him at times somewhat tame. For, as Mr. C. Knight—for his own purposes —shews, he cannot quite put aside those tawdry robes ; they cling to

him still, reappearing in detached fragments, a few lines at a time—enough to link his personal identity to that manifested in the earlier plays, but enough, also, to show that he was approaching a new era, and was about to develop another type of art.

One of the indications that the poet of *Edw. II.* (*i.e.*, Bacon) had not attained his poetic majority, is the absence of those legalisms which afterwards became so abundant and characteristic. The poet of *Tamburlaine* is still cloistered in his etherial *Parnassus*; he has not come completely into contact, as a poet, with the ordinary life around him; the pursuits and interests of his own life have not yet been drawn into the poetic sphere of his activity, so as to manifest themselves in the creations of his art.

I find it difficult to understand how any reasonable and candid student can resist the force of the arguments now produced to prove identity of authorship for Marlowe's *Edw. II.*, and the Shakespeare plays. The argument is, I submit, definite, restricted, textual; and it is no answer to say that the same results might be obtained if a similar analysis were employed for any other Elizabethan play. This is certainly not the case. Any one who brings forward this objection is bound to substantiate it in detail, and not content himself with vague generalities. There is, however, little chance that the argument for *Edw. II.* can be thus discredited. For it is already admitted that the play has an exceptional position, and in making the claim for it which I have now presented, nothing more is really attempted than to give an intelligible interpretation and explanation of the doubts, difficulties, and speculations which it has already started, and to suggest a solution which would probably have been adopted long ago, if these not very recondite facts had been allowed to speak for themselves. This they can never do while the current unrevised theory of the authorship of Shakespeare is not only allowed to pass unchallenged, but is raised to an unassailable eminence which no one may dispute without manifold pains and penalties. The Baconian theory alone gives a clear and comprehensive explanation of the many anomalies connected with the publication and the interior characteristics of all these poems, and in this respect it holds the field without a rival.

It is a small demand that we make on Elizabethan students that they should use the Baconian theory as a working hypothesis to unlock all these mysteries and reduce the chaos of criticism to law and order. This is the recognised method of scientific investigation and discovery. If this explanation does not fit the phenomena, let it be abandoned;

but if it throws light upon dark places ; if it solves difficult problems which resist all other methods of solution; if it harmonises contradictory and perplexing facts; if it supersedes strained arguments, and fantastic guesses or speculations, and weeds out all the *perhapses* which inflated Shakespearian biography, and despairing Shakespearian criticism, so urgently require, and so copiously employ; if it connects these marvellous creations of genius with the best culture of their own time, instead of leaving them detached, in solitary miraculous isolation, to be worshipped blindly, like the image which fell from Jupiter,—then let it be welcomed as it deserves, and let the fruitful field of criticism, illustration, and illumination which it opens be diligently explored and faithfully cultivated.

R. M. Theobald.

## BACON'S STORY OF PHILIP OF MACEDON SHADOWED IN SHAKESPEARE.

Adrian, his successor, was the most curious man that ever lived, and the most universal enquirer, insomuch as it was noted for an error in his mind that he desired to comprehend all things, and not to reserve himself for the worthiest things. Falling into the like humour that was long before noted in Philip of Macedon, who, when he would needs over-rule and put down an excellent musician in an argument touching music, was well answered by him again. "God forbid, sir," saith he, "that your fortune should be so bad as to know these things better than I."—*Adv.* I. vii. 6. *Apophthegms*, 159, &c.

With this story in mind, it is not difficult to see what the writer of *L. L. Lost* was thinking of when he makes a clown (*Costard*) argue with a courtier (*Biron*) in this style ; they are disputing about the number of actors in a marquee :—

*Biron.* By Jove, I always took three threes for nine.

*Costard.* O Lord, sir, it were pity you should get your living by reckoning, sir.—See *L. L. L.* v. 487-496.

"Reckoning" is constantly associated in Shakespeare with the trade of a tapster.

R. M. T.

# THE STATE METAPHORS OF BACON AND SHAKESPEARE.

By Mrs. Henry Pott.

(*Continued from page* 208.)

## Masculine and Feminine.

Seditions and tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine. (*Ess. Sedition.*)

Libels . . . which are the females of sedition.

(*Hist. Henry VII.*)

If the true concord of well-tuned sounds
By unions married do offend thine ear . . .
Mark how one string, sweet husband to another
Strikes each in each by mutual ordering;
Resembling sire and child and happy mother.

(*Sonnet* VIII.)

(Compare the Fable of *Orpheus* "Subduing and drawing all things after him in sweet and gentle methods and modulation." This Fable, although "*Explained of Natural and Moral Philosophy*," is shown by Bacon to have regard equally to civil affairs, and to the disturbances caused by men's ungoverned passions and appetites. "Discords" are in the Essay of *Sedition*, said to be one of the worst signs in a State.)

My brain I'll prove the female to my soul,
My soul the father: and these two beget
A generation of still-breeding thoughts,
And these same thoughts people this little world,
In humours like the people of this world,
For no thought is contented . . .
Music do I hear?
Ha, ha! keep time! How sour sweet music is
When time is broke and no proportion kept!
So is it in the music of men's lives, &c.

(*R. II.* V. v. 6.)

## Members disjoined.

Spain and France . . . reunited in the several members of those kingdoms formerly disjoined. (*Draft of Proclamation.*)

As festered members rot but by degree
Till bones, and flesh, and sinews fall away,
So shall this base and envious discord breed.

(*1 Henry VI.* III. i. 192.)

Mist.

The shining of the sun fair upon the ground . . . is hindered by clouds above and mists below. (*Reply to the Speaker.*)

These and the like conceits, when men have cleared their understanding by the light of experience, will scatter and break up like a mist. (*Sylv. Sylv.* ii. 124.)

(See also *Apologia*; *Mem. for King's Sp.* 1613; and *Letter to Visc. Rochester.*)

Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
Who doth permit the base, contagious clouds
To smother up his beauty from the world,
That when he please again to be himself,
Being wanted, he may be more wondered at
By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
Of vapours, that did seem to strangle him.
(*1 Henry IV.* I. ii. 221.)

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Model of Government.

The fundamental laws of nature . . . a first model whence to take a copy and imitation for government. (*On the Union.*)

Why should we in the compass of a pale
Keep law, and form, and due proportion,
Showing, as in a model, our firm estate,
When our sea-walled garden, the whole land,
Is full of weeds, &c.
(See *Richard II.* III. iv. 40-66)

No man can by care-taking (as the Scripture saith) add a cubit to his stature in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes . . . to add greatness to their kingdoms.
(*Ess. of Greatness of Kingdoms.*)

O England! model to thy outward greatness,
Like little body with a mighty heart.
(*Henry V.*, II. Chorus 16.)

Princes are a model which Heaven makes like to itself.
(*Per.*, II., ii. 10.)

I pray that your Majesty may have twenty no worse years in your greatness than Queen Elizabeth had in her model.
(*To the King*, 1616.)

Thy wretched brother,
Who was the model of thy father's life.
(*Richard II.* I. ii. 28.)

(And see *2 Henry IV.* I. iii. 41-62).

---

**Olive Branch, Laurel, in war.**

He did make that war rather with an olive-branch than a laurel-branch in his hand; more desiring peace than victory.
(*Hist: Hen. VII.*)

Warwick.....to whom the heavens, in thy nativity,
Adjudged an olive-branch and laurel crown,
As likely to be blest in peace and war.
(*3 Hen. VI.*, IV. vi. 33.)

I will use the olive with my sword,
Make war breed peace, make peace stint war.
(*Tim. Ath.*, V. iv. 82.)

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**Oracle.**

The oracle of her Majesty's direction. (*Let: for Essex.*)
You may be enabled to give impartial judgment, like an oracle.
(*Advice to Buckm: 2.*)
Law, as an oracle, is affixed to a place. (*Of the Marches.*)
Cranmer.....Hath crawled into the favour of the king
And is his oracle. (*Hen. VIII.*, III. ii. 102.
Ajax.....rails on our state of war,
Bold as an oracle, &c. (*Tr. Cr.*, I. iii. 191.)

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**Orb, Sphere, Primum Mobile.**

The motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets and *primum mobile*; according to the old opinion, &c. . . Therefore when great ones . . move violently . . it is a sign the orbs are out of frame.
(*Ess. Seditions. The same figure in Report June 17, 1606-7, and in Letter to Buckingham, January 20, 1619-20.*)

Although my lady should have put on a mind to continue her loyalty; yet when she was in another sphere, she must have moved in the motion of that orb, and not of the planet itself.
(*Ch. Against Countess of Shrewsbury.*

There are many courts, some superior, some of a lower orb; it is fit that every one of them keep themselves within their proper spheres. (*Advice to Villiers.*)

If the King . . and the Prince be resolved to have it go on, then you move in their orb. (*To Buckingham.*)

Now, now, you stars that move in your right spheres,
Where be your powers? Show now your mended faiths,
And instantly return with me again,
To push destruction and perpetual shame
Out of the weak door of our fainting land.
(*John* V. vii. 74.)

He makes me angry;
And at this time most easy 'tis to do it,
When my good stars, that were my former guides,
Have empty left their orbs, and shot their fires
Into the abysm of hell.
(*Ant. Cl.* III. xiii. 141.)

Will you . .
Move in that obedient orb again
Where you did give a fair and natural light,
And be no more an exhaled meteor,
A prodigy of fear and a portent
Of broached mischief to the unborn times?
*1 Henry IV.* V. i. 15.)

Blest pray you be,
That after this strange starting from your orbs
You may reign in them now!
(*Cymb.* V. v. 370.)

But in our orbs we'll live so round and safe, . .
Thou should'st a subject shine, I a true prince.
(*Per.* I. ii. 122.)

&c.

**Organ.**

Law is the great organ by which the sovereign power doth move.
(*Case of Post Nati.*)
The organs of our own power. (*M. M.*, I. i. 21.)

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**Pack-horse in Affairs.**

I have laboured like a pack-horse in your business.
(*To W. J. Murray:* 1611.)
I was a pack-horse in his great affairs.
(*Rich. III.*, I. iii. 122.)
Opportunity.....Sin's pack-horse. *Lucrece*, 928.)

---

**Painted, Shadow of Royalty, &c.**

This unfortunate prince ... was at last distressed by them to shadow their rebellion, and to be the titular and painted head of those arms. (*Hist.: Hen. VIII.*)
You are the king's shadow. (*Advice to Buckm.*)
Poor, painted queen, vain flourish of my fortune!
(*Rich. III.*, I. iii. 241.)
I call'd thee then poor shadow, painted queen.
The presentation of but what I was. (*ib.*, IV. iv. 83.)
The shadow of your power. (*Tim. Ath.*, V. v. 6.)
I am your shadow my lord. (*2 Hen. IV.*, II. ii. 174.)

The man that sits.....in shadow of such greatness.
(*ib.*, IV. ii. 15.)
He is the true king indeed, thou but the shadow.
(*3 Hen. VI.*, IV. iii. 50.)
Who is it that can tell me who I am?—Lear's shadow.
(*Lear.*, I. iv. 250.)
I am the shadow of poor Buckingham.
(*Hen. VIII.*, I. i. 224.)

---

**Parent: Father, Mother, &c.**

(He is) a natural parent to your state. (*Gesta Grayorum.*)
Princes ought to be common parents. (*Ess.*: *Sedition.*)
I see that Time's the king of men,
He's both their parent, and he is their grave.
(*Per.*, II. iii. 45.)

---

**Partner in State Matters.**

A man who can endure no partner in State matters.
(*Letter drawn up for Essex.*)
My partner in this action
You must report.....Now plainly
I have borne this business. (*Cor.*, V. iii. 2.)
I took him,
Made him joint-servant with me.....till at the last
I seem'd his follower, not partner. (*ib.*, V. vi. 31-41.)

---

**Physician to the State.**

I took you for a physician that desired to cure the diseases of the State; but now I doubt you will be like one of those physicians that can be content to keep their patients low, because they would be always in request. (*Apologia.*)
The cures of civil dissension are *remedium præveniens*, which is the best physic for a natural body or State. (*Advice to Villiers*: 2.)
The king would not stir too many humours at once, but after the manner of good physicians, purge the head last. (*Of Union.*)
You that will be less fearful than discreet.....that prefer
To jump a body with a dangerous physic
That's sure of death without it,—at once pluck out
The multitudinous tongue, &c. (*Cor.*, III. i. 49.)
The violent fit o' the time craves it as physic.
For the whole State. (*ib.*, III. ii. 33.)

---

**Pillar.**

The star-chamber wheron his majesty shall erect one of the noblest and durablest pillars for the justice of the kingdom.
(*To Buckingham.*)
The new-placed lord-keeper.....one of the chief pillars of this estate. (*To Essex.*)

So many pillars of the State. (*Of the Marches.*)
A pillar of support to the crown. (*Speech on Tenures.*)
The four pillars of government.....are religion, justice, counsel, and treasure. (*Ess.*; *Seditions.*)

[The same figure in *Petn. of Tenures*, *Notes for Conference*, and of *War with Spain*.

Brave peers of England, pillars of the State.
(*2 Hen. VI.*, I. i. 75.)
Call them pillars that will stand to us. (*3 Hen. VI.*, ii. 5.)
Take but good note, and you shall see in him
The triple pillar of the world transformed.
(*Ant. Cl.*, I. i. 11.)

---

Pilot in the Tempest.

The Duke thought the Bishop should have been his chief pilot in the tempest. (*Hist.*: *Hen. VII.*)
I must ask you whether you will not get a pilot in a strange coast.
(*Advice to Rutland*: 2.)
Times..... well passed through by the wisdom of the pilot.
(*Adv. L.*, ii. 1; *ref. De Aug.*, ii. 7.)

Yet lives our pilot, still: is't meet that he
Should leave the helm?.....
And, though unskilful, why not Ned and I
For once allowed the skilful pilot's charge?
(See *3 Hen. VI.*, V. iv. 1-36.)
Be pilot to me, and thy places shall
Still neighbour mine. (*W. Tale*, I. ii. 448.)

[Same figure, *Rom. Jul.*, II. ii. 82 and V. iii. 117 ]

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Pitch. Falcon's Flight.

A subject too high for me . . . the King's favour hath brought you to this high pitch. (*Advice to Buckingham*).

No marvel, an it like your Majesty
My Lord Protector's hawks do tower so well;
They know their master loves to be aloft,
And bears his thoughts above his falcon's pitch.
My lord, 'tis but a base, ignoble mind
That mounts no higher than a bird can soar.
(2 *Hen. VI.* II. i. 1-14).

How high a pitch his resolution soars!
(*R. II.* I. i. 103, and 1 *Hen. VI.* II. iii., 54-56).

This would be too low for your thoughts, who would find enough to busy you of a higher nature. (*Advice to Buckingham*).

Fit thy thoughts
To mount aloft with thy imperial mistress,
And mount her pitch. (*Tit. And.* II. i. 12).

**Plaister.**

Reason doth dictate (where) the healing and consolidating plaister should be applied. *(Touching the Union).*

I am not glad that such a sore of time
Should seek a plaister by contemned revolt,
And heal the inveterate canker of one wound
By making many. (*John*, V. ii. 12).

. . . You rub the sore,
When you should bring the plaister. (*Temp.* II. i. 138).

---

**Plant.**

Her Majesty will do well to plant a stronger and surer government in Ireland. *(Advice to Essex).*

It had been the practice of seditious subjects to plant their invectives against such as had authority. *(Obs. on a Libel).*

The Church is not now to plant.
(*Church Controversies*).

A perpetual policy in the Church . . . must be erected and planted. (*ib.*)

He goeth about to plant Jesuits.
(*ib.* and frequent examples).

You are but newly planted in your throne.
(*Tit. And.* I. ii. 444).

They laboured to plant the rightful heir.
(1 *Hen. VI.* II. v. 80).

I'll plant Plantagenet: root him up who dares.
(3 *Hen. VI.* I. i. 48).

Plant in tyrants mild humility. (*L. L. L.* IV. iii. 349).

I saw the treasons planted.
(*Ant. Cl.* I. iii. 26, and frequent examples).

---

**Play for a Crown.**

The House of Guise had . . . wrought a miracle of state to make a king in possession long established to play for his crown. (*Praise of the Queen*).

Have I not here the best cards for a game
To win this easy match played for a crown?
——— (*John*, V. ii. 105).

**Poise. Scale Measure.**

Men have . . . as it were their scale by which to measure the bounds of the most perfect religion.
(*Controversies of the Church*).

Counterpoise . . . or restore to an equilibrium the scales of justice. (*De Aug.* VIII. 2).

We'll poise the cause in Justice equal scales.
(2 *Hen. VI.* II. i. 204).

We, poising us in her defective scale,
Shall weigh thee to the beam. (*A. W.* II. iii. 161).

**Poison.**

Fear . . is the poison of all governments. (*To the Queen*).
Traitorous subjects, which is the only poison and corruption of all honourable war between subjects. (*Of a Libel*).
The poison (of malignity) was dispersed so secretly, as there was no means to stay it. (*Let. for Walsingham*).
They will poison the king's good intentions. (*Report*, 1612).
The books of Joanna Mariana . . . are as a pois often distilled and sublimate. &c. (*Charge against Owen*, 2).

My valour's poisoned. (*Cor.* I. x 17).

Your Grace attended to their sugar'd words,
But look'd not on the poison of their hearts.
(*R. III.* III. i. 13).

All goodness is poison to thy stomach. (*Hen. VIII.* III. ii. 283).
Poisonous spite and envy. (*Tim. Ath.* I. ii. 144).
Sweet, sweet, sweet poison for the age's tooth.. (*John*, I. i. 213)

---

**Purge the State, Law, &c.**

Scarce a year would suffice to purge the statute book.
(*Obs. on a Libel*).
Purge out multiplicity of laws. (*Gesta Grayorum*)
(It were better) that some good institutions were purged with the bad, rather than to purge the whole . . . which is the way to make a wound in her bowels. (*Controversies of the Church*).
(Subjects') minds purged of the late ill blood of hostility.
(*Hist. of Hen. VII.*).
(*And the same figure in Letters to Walsingham, and to the Lord Keeper, 1597, in the paper of the Pacification of the Church, in a Digest of Laws, &c.*).
Ere human statute purg'd the general weal. (*Macb.* III. iv. 76).

Diet rank minds sick of happiness,
And purge the obstructions which begins to stop
Our very veins of life. (See 2 *Hen. IV.* IV. i. 53-66).

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**Quench Sedition, Quarrels, &c.**

This matter might have been quenched long ago.
(*To the Lord Keeper, 1597*).
The Cornish men were become like metal often fired and quenched —churlish . . . All domestic troubles were quenched . . quenching combustions, &c. (*Hist. of Hen. VII.*).

I dare your quenchless fury to more rage.
(3 *Hen. VI.* I. iv. 20).

Quenching the flame of bold rebellion.
(2 *Hen. IV. Indn.* 26).

This is the way to kindle, not to quench.
(*Cor.* III. i. 198).